

# LOVE AND RAGE

A REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST  
NEWSPAPER



Photo by David Mung, Impact Visuals

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DECEMBER 1993

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# Tear Down the Borders

ADAPTED BY THE PRODUCTION GROUP FROM AN  
IMMIGRATION WORKING GROUP DRAFT

THE LINES ON MAPS ARE NOT BORDERS—although that is mainly how borders have been codified and conceptualized. Nor are fences, walls, moats, or razor wire the real borders. Nor are border guards, soldiers, la migra, or cops, who with their guns, tanks, and planes enforce the order, the real border. But this answer is getting warmer.

Defined by the ruling class and enforced by its state, the border is both a shorthand for a set of social relations and a declaration of war on every other nation-state—"This is our turf from sea to shining sea. Everything here is ours! All upon it is for us to use!"

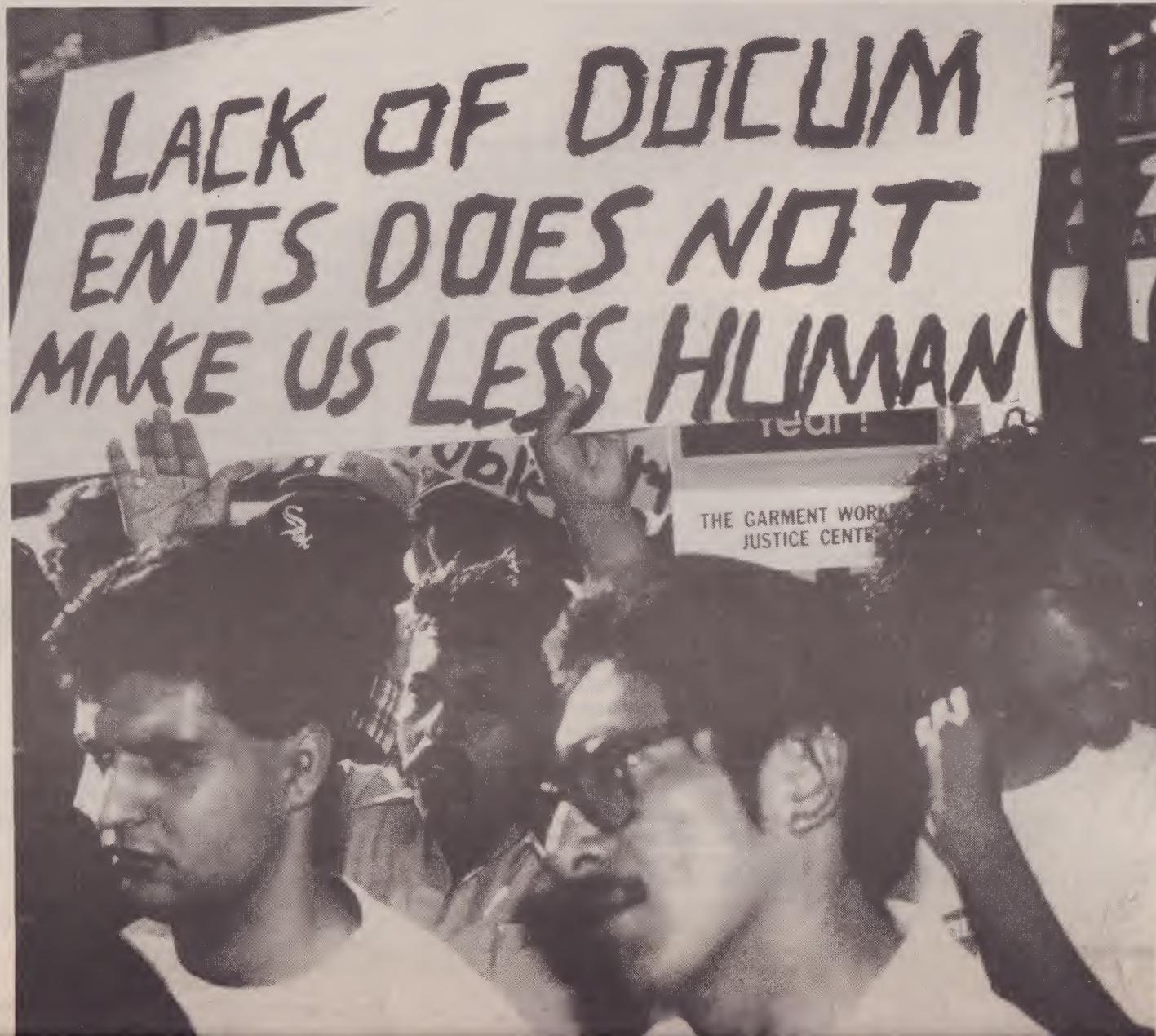
Borders are also ideas: you belong here; you don't belong here; you are undesirable; you are welcome; real differences divide us; our distinct cultures need to be protected from random interactions; no borders means more competition for jobs.

## German Revolutionary Cells Attack Border Post P. 3

In order to deconstruct the idea and reality of borders, we need to understand that borders are intricately tied to the existence of a ruling class and the state that represents it. To tear down the borders, we must also tear down class society.

### USING BORDERS TO DIVIDE

The world has plunged into a serious economic, ecological, and social crisis, part of a recurrent cycle of expansion and recession.



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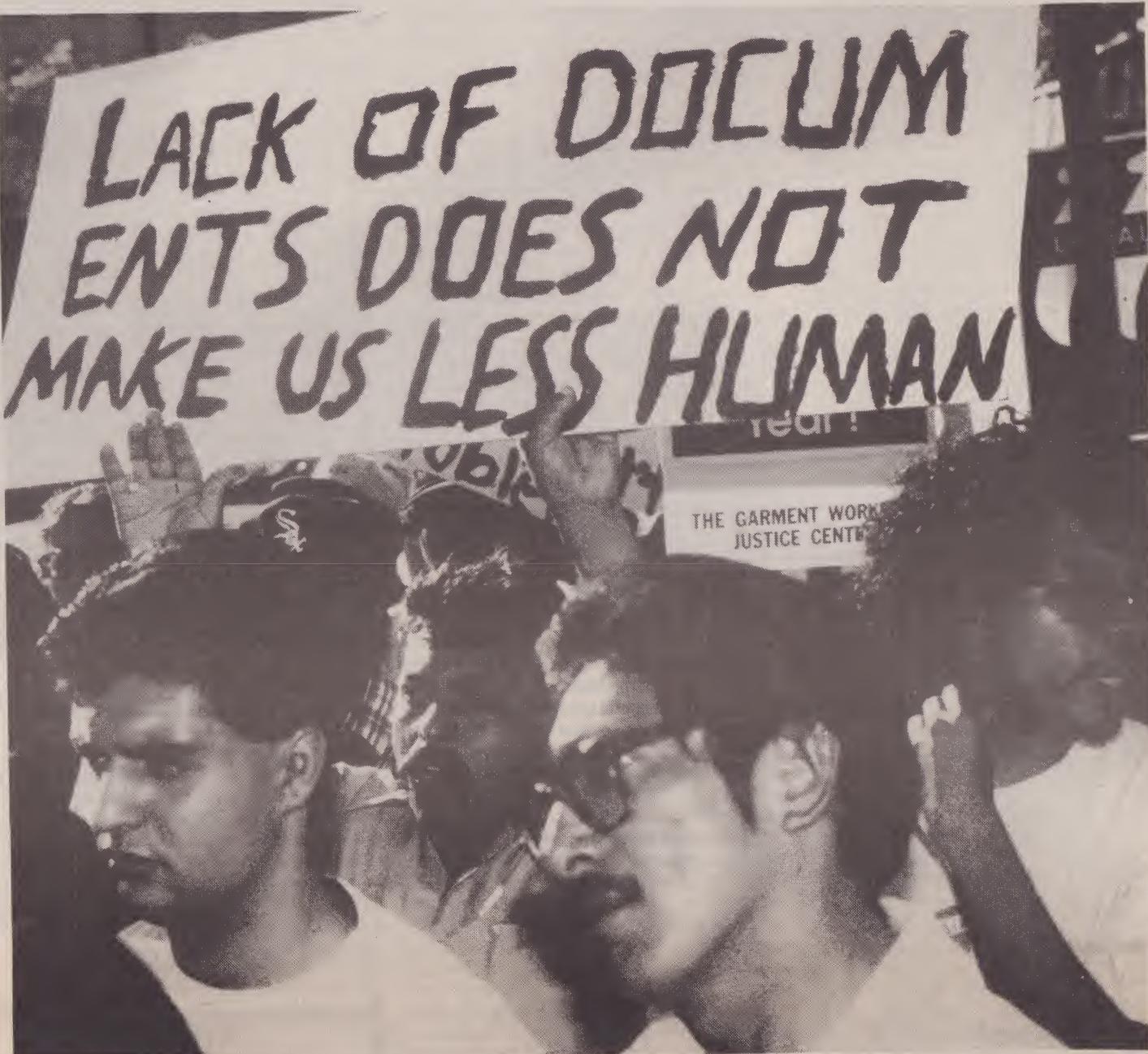
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### USING BORDERS TO DIVIDE

The world has plunged into a serious economic, ecological, and social crisis, part of a recurrent cycle of expansion and recession in capitalism. To deflect attention away from the source of this crisis, the capitalist system employs a method of crisis management that scapegoats the "other," and exploits and intensifies division and social tension along lines of nationality, class, race, gender, and sexuality.

Immigrants, refugees, people of color, bisexuals lesbians, gays, women, people with AIDS, homeless people, and other



August immigrant rights demonstration in Los Angeles

the "other," are supposed to align themselves with the patriotic status quo and adopt a position of belligerent nationalism backed by ideas like manifest destiny.

### RECRUITING BORDER GUARDS

Yugoslavia, immigrants, refugees, and all types of aliens are among the foremost targets. Governments in all these countries are moving to further restrict immigrants' rights, deny refugees asylum, and seal national borders.

These actions are supported and encouraged by multitudes on both the right and

the Border Patrol along the border with México. In Germany, socialists support further restrictions of the right to asylum—long supported by the left as a means of recourse for people whose homes were destroyed by German capital.

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Photo by David Mungo/Impact Vision

of a recurrent cycle of expansion and recession in capitalism. To deflect attention away from the source of this crisis, the capitalist system employs a method of crisis management that scapegoats the "other," and exploits and intensifies division and social tension along lines of nationality, class, race, gender, and sexuality.

Immigrants, refugees, people of color, bisexuals lesbians, gays, women, people with AIDS, homeless people, and other "aliens" are blamed for problems such as the deterioration of the economy and the breakdown of traditional family values.

The regular people, people who are not

August immigrant rights demonstration in Los Angeles

the "other," are supposed to align themselves with the patriotic status quo and adopt a position of belligerent nationalism backed by ideas like manifest destiny.

## RECRUITING BORDER GUARDS

Fascist movements around the world are growing larger and more violent. In every industrial capitalist and socialist state, from Russia to France, from Japan to the former

Yugoslavia, immigrants, refugees, and all types of aliens are among the foremost targets. Governments in all these countries are moving to further restrict immigrants' rights, deny refugees asylum, and seal national borders.

These actions are supported and encouraged by politicians—on both the right and left. Even one of the US Senate's most liberal members, California Democrat Barbara Boxer, calls for the National Guard to aid

the Border Patrol along the border with México. In Germany, socialists support further restrictions of the right to asylum—long supported by the left as a means of recourse for people whose homes were destroyed by German capital.

These movements and policies that take their cues from fascism, are two aspects of a common response to the most fundamental reorganization of international capital in decades. Foreigners are being blamed for worsening economic conditions and in the name of national solidarity legal citizens are rallied to oppose this foreign invasion, physically if necessary.

In contrast to the intensity of the fascist and neo-nazi presence in Europe, particularly since 1989 with the collapse of the Berlin Wall, fascist undercurrents in the United States have not been as prominent. Yet the current wave of anti-immigrant hysteria in the US reveals the specter of a similarly violent right-wing and proto-fascist reaction exploding here.

## BETTER BORDERS?

We don't want better borders—borders that are more liberalized, an end to capri-

(Continued to page 3)

# Indigenous Prisoners Hungerstrike Across México

SEPT 13, 1993 IN MEXICO MARKED the Third Day for Liberty for All Indigenous, Political and Social Prisoners. A hunger strike began with the prisoners of the Eastern Prison, and the Northern Prison of Mexico City; Huahuachinango and San Miguel Puebla Prisons in the state of Puebla; Pachuca Prison in the state of Hidalgo; Tuxpán Prison in the state of Veracruz; Ocosingo Prison in the state of Chiapas; Molino de las Flores Prison in Texcoco, State of México; and the Almolaya de Juárez High Security Prison in the State of México.

The coordinator of the Committees of Prisoners' Human rights confirmed the motives of the third Day for Liberty: the corruption that pervades the system of procurement, administration and imparting of Justice in the Mexican State. She argues that across the country there are hundreds of victims of police brutality, governmental corruption, framing, extortion by prison guards and functionaries of the country, and it is common to hear of mistreatment and torture in the attorney general's offices and in detention centers across the country. There are thousands of citizens unjustly imprisoned for crimes they did not commit. They find themselves robbed of their

liberty without the benefit of a formal trial, and in a state of total defenselessness, without the Law of Minimum Standards to grant them liberty.

The measure of the government's attitude towards the systematic violation of human rights can be seen in the high numbers of assassinations, disappearances, kidnapping, unjustified arrest warrants and illegal imprisonment in detention centers.

Prisoners are submitted to inhumane ways of life, characterized by overpopulation, stacking of prisoners, mistreatment, torture, and other cruel treatments that assault human dignity.

The Committees for the Human rights of Prisoners in the prisons are part of a broad popular movement made up of over 100

(Continued to page 2)

# Facing North American Free Trade

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

THE PASSAGE OF THE NORTH American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) by the US Congress brings to an end a period of furious anti-NAFTA organizing. At the same time the US business class conducted a relentless public relations campaign to create an illusion of popular support for NAFTA. By comparison the anti-NAFTA campaign was impoverished. The capitalist media was very cooperative with the pro-NAFTA effort. While NAFTA has been a subject of public debate for two years, no public opinion polls were conduct-

ed until days before the congressional vote, when the public mind was most saturated with corporate PR. Even then, more people opposed NAFTA than supported it.

While NAFTA undoubtedly will have many of the negative effects its opponents claim, too many radicals in the US have uncritically accepted the sort of political reasoning that can bring together an effective alliance between Ross Perot and the bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO. The anti-NAFTA movement in the US ranged from the jingoistic America-first slogan of Perot to the phony-internationalism of social democrats

suggesting a simple common interest between the Mexican poor and the US's unionized work force. Most radicals were careful to distance themselves from the crude nationalism of Perot, but few challenged the comfy myths of the left-wing of the anti-NAFTA movement. These illusions were often posed as promoting unity between US and Mexican workers, but in fact they only set everyone up for disappointment.

NAFTA is only one expression of a general international reorganization of capitalism

(Continued to page 3)

*Love and Rage* is the English-language newspaper of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, an organization made up of groups and individuals in Canada, Mexico and the US who share a set of common politics and who work on common political projects. *Love and Rage* is produced by a Production Group in New York City. The Production Group is made up of volunteers and one full-time, paid staff person. *Love and Rage* is one of the many projects of the Federation, which also produces the Spanish-language *Amar y Rabia* in Mexico City, operates a Federation office in Oakland, California, and publishes an internal discussion bulletin in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in addition to supporting various actions and campaigns. There are currently two working groups in the Federation: one on racist and police violence and the other on state borders and anti-immigrant violence. For more information contact the groups.

Major decisions and overall policies of the Federation are set by an annual conference, or between conferences by the Federation Council. The Federation Council is currently made up of two delegates from each of the local supporting groups plus eight delegates from the various projects.

Ongoing debates and discussions within the Federation take place in the quarterly Discussion Bulletin (*Disco Bull*). More timely information goes out in the bi-weekly Federation Bulletin, currently produced in New York City.

The Federation is not a closed circle of friends. You can join the Federation and participate fully in the decision-making process. Any member of a local supporting group is automatically a member of the Federation. Any individual who is in general agreement with the stated politics of the Federation, who supports the projects of the Federation and who pays the \$25 communications fee to cover the costs of receiving the Federation publications, may be a member of the Federation. The communications fee will be waived on request.

Even if you do not wish to be a member of the Federation you may participate in Federation projects. We are always happy to have people help with any of the projects. So please contact us.

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Anti-Racist Working Group

# Mexican March Against Imperialism

BY THE AMOR Y RABIA PRODUCTION GROUP

ON SEPT 13 IN MEXICO CITY, OVER 30 independent organizations from the most diverse sectors of the working class of the countryside and city participated in a large anti-imperialist march. Present were: the democratic and independent Teachers' Union (CNTE Sec. 9); campesinos of the Emiliano Zapata Democratic Front of Eastern México, of the Emiliano Zapata Campesino Organization, and others; workers on strike at the Euskadi tire factory; workers struggling in the Democratic Committee at Ford; students in the Coordinating Council of University Students; defenders of human rights; popular organizations; urban squatters of the F.V. Popular Front; social organizations such as the General Assembly of Workers; and us, the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation.

This broad, anti-imperialist assembly was the result of a process of unity-in-action that we had been developing since the militant May Day march this year [see *Love and Rage* vol. 4, no. 4]. That coordination of workers, campesinos and others showed us the possibility of the anti-imperialist march and other organizing efforts, such as the Oct 2 march (in memory of students massacred by the army in the Tlatelolco Plaza that day in 1968) and the march for Native Rights on Oct 12 (Indigenous Peoples' Day).

At 4 p.m. we left from the Monument to the Niños-Héroes in Chapultepec and marched towards the National Palace in the Zócalo, with the contingents who made up the Coordinating Group.

Along the route, we had several stops and rallies: in front of the Yankee embassy, and at other places representing major conflicts, such as the Mexican Institute for Social Security, the Secretariat of Governance, and so on.

The event had two objectives: first, the commemoration of the resistance in 1847 that the Mexican people put forth against the Yankee government's occupation [during the Mexican-American War, 1846-1848]; second, to protest the current form of intervention and imperialist domination: by means of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the imposition of neo-liberalism and the privatization of the public



Photo from Amar y Rabia

response to the hunger-strikers and the freedom of all indigenous, political and social prisoners.

The coordination of the march as well as the issuing of demands was hard work. Reaching decisions by consensus was tedious since within the hearts of many of the organizations and unions are many members of the genus *Comunistasaurus Marxano-Leninoidus* who refuse to accept their condition as "fauna in extinction." This archaic species still specializes in blocking the development of a revolutionary, anti-authoritarian, anti-hierarchical and self-determined left movement. This is only

logical, because what would the "revolutionary vanguard," "the leaders" and their "proletarian party" do on the day the people question the need for leaders, bureaucrats and parasites of this type? What would they do if the people organized ourselves for ourselves? Since all of their dreams of power and their hopes of new dictatorships are vanishing, we are now recognizing the logic of their attitudes. Now we see something like the best of creole surrealism in the "Marxist Nationalists" as they rise to the height of inconsequence

(Continued to page 17)

Discussion Bulletin  
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PO Box 24703  
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Production Group: Beth, Christopher, Chris, Julia, Liza, Matt B., Matt C., Melissa\*, Rachel, Todd. [PG members who didn't work on this issue are marked with an \*]

Translators: Todd, Beth

*Love and Rage* is printed on recycled paper, using soy-based inks, by a union printer. ISSN # 1065-2000. If you are having trouble getting the paper, please call or write to the office.

#### Boring Disclaimer

Yo, all the stuff we print in the newspaper does not necessarily represent the opinions of the Federation or of any member of the Federation. We print lots of things for lots of reasons. Sometimes we print articles we don't agree with because we believe that they are interesting or provocative. Got it?

#### Editorial Policy

We encourage you to submit material for publication. Shorter articles are more likely to be printed. 1800 words, a full newspaper page, is a long article. Submissions may be edited. Please include a phone number and address or internet email address so the PG can consult you on editing. Articles not printed may be sent to our internal bulletins unless otherwise noted. All letters will be considered for publication unless there is an explicit request that they not be published. Letters will not be edited.

#### About Our Politics

The Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation is in the process of developing a statement of our common politics. A set of working papers encompassing the debate on the content of this statement is available for \$5 from Info-Share (see address above). The following introduction to our old Political Statement gives an idea of where we are coming from:

Love and Rage is a bi-monthly anarchist newspaper intended to foster revolutionary anti-authoritarian activism in North America and build a more effective and better-organized anarchist movement. We will provide coverage of social struggles, world events, anarchist actions, and cultures of resistance. We will support the struggles of oppressed peoples around the world for control over their own lives. Anarchy offers the broadest possible critique of domination, making possible a framework for unity in all struggles for liberation. We seek to understand the systems we live under for ourselves and reject any pre-packaged ideology. Anarchism is a living body of theory and practice connected directly to the lived experiences of oppressed people fighting for their own liberation. We anticipate the radical and on-going revision of our ideas as a necessary part of any revolutionary process.

second, to protest the current form of intervention and imperialist domination: by means of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the imposition of neo-liberalism, and the preparation of the conditions necessary to put the North American Free Trade Agreement into practice. Moreover, we completely reject North American intervention in Central America, South America and the Caribbean, demanding the withdrawal of military bases across the continent, the immediate withdrawal from Puerto Rico, Panamá, Colombia, etc., and an end to the "world police" role that the US has been playing within the UN with respect to the people of Libya, Iraq, Somalia and the former Yugoslavia.

On the same day, the 13th, the Third Jornada for the Freedom of All Social and Political Prisoners began, as did a hunger strike by prisoners in Mexico City and most of the states of the republic [see p. 1]. Our demands with respect to this included a

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## Hunger Strike

(Continued from front page)

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They have also called for the compilation of lists of native prisoners that might still avail themselves of the Law of Minimum Standards, as well as those prisoners convicted of minor crimes who, by virtue of their low economic resources, cannot achieve freedom. The committees have also made a call to compile lists of judges, magistrates and ministers that have acted in violation of due process and to establish communication between different jails in the country. Also included within the general demands of the Third Day of Liberty are demands for the freedom of all people imprisoned for social or political reasons, the freedom of all unjustly imprisoned indigenous people, an end to prison abuse, and the solution of the problem of Mexicans sentenced to death in the US, victims of a racist system.★

## LOVE AND RAGE SPECIAL ISSUE ON FEMINISM & REVOLUTION



#### We want writing, especially by women, on:

- Third World and indigenous women's struggles
- Sexuality and power
- The struggle for reproductive freedom
- Racism, class oppression, and homophobia in the anarchist and women's movements
- Women and armed struggle
- Anarcho-feminism
- Feminism and radical ecology
- Book reviews, scene reports, and more!

Deadline for submissions is January 31, 1994. Articles may be typed, neatly written, in almost any file format on IBM formatted disks, or sent by email to: [lnr@blyhe.org](mailto:lnr@blyhe.org) or [tunderwood@pisces.rutgers.edu](mailto:tunderwood@pisces.rutgers.edu). Please check our editorial policy for length and other guidelines. Please include photographs or artwork with your writing if you can.

Send submissions to:

Love and Rage ♀ Issue  
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# Borders

(Continued from front page)

cious restrictions, or a renewed guarantee of asylum rights. We want a world without borders. This means several things.

It means that we need to fight the nascent fascist movement. As social tensions rise, dissatisfied and angry people look for answers and solutions. We need to make clear that fascism is not the answer both through providing solutions that come from a revolutionary perspective and through beating back the fascist movement so that it cannot grow.

It means that we need to fight racism in its less flashy and more insidious forms. Borders aren't just in the minds of a mythical ruling class, they divide all of us. The border between the US and México is made more of white supremacy than of barbed wire, and US resistance to the North American Free Trade Agreement has come as much from racism as from fear of unemployment.

Finally, it means that we cannot focus simply on the recent examples of anti-immigrant violence and sentiment. Borders are an institutional form of violence and racism—they keep people in their place. The ideology of borders—really the ideology of a society divided into permanent classes—is always violent, regardless of whether we see it on TV. We need to be committed to destroying the society of borders, not just the borders themselves.★

## Anti-Borders Demo in LA

SEPT 16 IS MEXICAN INDEPENDENCE day, and this year, a day of action against racist anti-immigrant violence—was held in California. México, which before US colonization included California, celebrates the defeat of Imperial Spain at Puebla on this day in 1810. The baton of imperialism, passed from Spain to the U.S. nearly a century ago, is today carried by politicians like Republican Governor (and long time SDI exponent) Pete Wilson, and Senators Dianne Feinstein and Barbara



**RZs Attack Border Post**

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Feinstein, once the San Francisco mayor who passed legislation allowing same-sex marriage in that city, is now, along with relative political newcomer Barbara Boxer, bringing racism to the political fore in the Senate. Legislation including a \$1 fee for anyone entering the US from México, and deployment of the National Guard along the border, is being proposed by the California Democrats. Racism is also prevalent on the local level; a Latino student activist from University of California at Davis described at the San Francisco City Hall rally an attack in which two racists cut her hair and inscribed her skin with racist words. Retaliation for the young woman's political activism was the attackers' motive. In an atmosphere of colonialism and racial hatred where Governor Pete Wilson claims undocumented Latino work-



## RZs Attack Border Post

THE FOLLOWING IS A COMMUNIQUE from the Revolutionary Cells (the RZs, from their name in German) on an action against the shutting of Germany's eastern border. On Oct 4, in the night, a power transformer on the lands of the Border Police at Frankfurt on the Oder was blown up. No one was injured, the power supply to the border protection facility was shut off for a short time. The German Border Police (BGS) and the Criminal Police informed the press that this was the first terrorist attack in the region of Frankfurt. The District Attorney had not been aware of any terrorists being recruited from this area. At the beginning of September there was a demo in Frankfurt against the new asylum laws. Around 700 people (according to police) made a stand against racism and xenophobia. The BGS arrested some autonomist demonstrators who had broken through the border in a boat.

## NAFTA

(Continued from page 1)

that is sweeping away restrictions on international investment and trade. More significant than NAFTA in its effects will be the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which is doing on a world scale much

### REVOLUTIONARY CELLS COMMUNIQUE

“Ever since the Right to Asylum was repealed in Germany on July 1, 1993 the powers that be want to stop the immigration of refugees at the external borders of the European Community. The measures taken to accomplish this are being unified within the framework of the Schengen Agreement. One component of this is the Eastward advancement of border controls. The German government for example has paid 120 million German Marks (\$70 million) to the government of Poland to strengthen controls at the Polish eastern border. In addition, the German Border Police was expanded in the beginning of 1993 by 1500 so-called police assistants to watch over the borders with Poland and the Czech

Republic. At the same time, the BGS is being technologically armed. Mobile radar and infra-red devices are now being tested to optimize their effectiveness in detecting refugees fleeing over the border. Every night the BGS patrols the eastern border of Germany in chase of those who against all odds manage to cross the border.

“In the night of October 2nd to October 3rd we blew up the power supply of the BGS-barracks in Frankfurt on the Oder and set on fire the BGS vehicles at the Rotenburg Airport. For Free Floods.”

—Revolutionary Cells

—Translated from Megafon Nr.144 by Clyde, Infoshop  
Berkeley

Megafon, Magazine from the Reithalle,  
Bern Postfach 7611  
CH-3001 Bern  
Switzerland

es in the Third World. The massive movement of undocumented immigrants from the Third World to the First is also a form of resistance to this new world order. In contrast, the anti-NAFTA movement in the US was largely a movement demanding a return to the old pre-1970s deal for US workers, and not a movement that aligned itself with the global resistance movement.

Senators Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer, both Democrats. In response to Wilson's proposed policy of denial of citizenship and public education to the children of (primarily Latino) undocumented immigrants, San Jose High school students defied the Board of Education's Rent-A-Cops and walked out of their building and off school grounds. In San Francisco a coalition sponsored an action including close to 600 Latino and Anglo activists marching from a rally at City hall to the Mission district.

Feinstein, once the San Francisco mayor who passed legislation allowing same-sex marriage in that city, is now, along with relative political newcomer Barbara Boxer, bringing racism to the political fore in the Senate. Legislation including a \$1 fee for anyone entering the US from México, and deployment of the National Guard along the border, is being proposed by the California Democrats. Racism is also prevalent on the local level; a Latino student activist from University of California at Davis described at the San Francisco City Hall rally an attack in which two racists cut her hair and inscribed her skin with racist words. Retaliation for the young woman's political activism was the attackers' motive. In an atmosphere of colonialism and racial hatred where Governor Pete Wilson claims undocumented Latino workers are the cause of economic problems, resistance must continue.★



**T**HE FOLLOWING IS A COMMUNIQUE from the Revolutionary Cells (the RZs, from their name in German) on an action against the shutting of Germany's eastern border. On Oct 4, in the night, a power transformer on the lands of the Border Police at Frankfurt on the Oder was blown up. No one was injured, the power supply to the border protection facility was shut off for a short time. The German Border Police (BGS) and the Criminal Police informed the press that this was the first terrorist attack in the region of Frankfurt. The District Attorney had not been aware of any terrorists being recruited from this area. At the beginning of September there was a demo in Frankfurt against the new asylum laws. Around 700 people (according to police) made a stand against racism and xenophobia. The BGS arrested some autonomist demonstrators who had broken through the border in a boat.

## NAFTA

(Continued from page 1)

that is sweeping away restrictions on international investment and trade. More significant than NAFTA in its effects will be the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which is doing on a world scale much of what NAFTA aimed to do on a continental scale. Like NAFTA, GATT transfers the authority to determine what are fair and unfair restrictions on investment and trade from national governments to international commissions and committees. These commissions will be made up, in large part, of representatives of the world's largest multi-national corporations. There has been a dramatic lowering of the barriers between Canada, the US and Mexico for the past decade. NAFTA only brought together in a single package what would have probably happened piecemeal, or under GATT, anyway.

To formulate an effective response to the current international reorganization of capital we need to have an accurate understanding of what the old deal was and why the reorganization is taking place. Until the early 1970s the over-industrialized countries of the West and Japan bought domestic social peace by cutting a significant section of their working classes in on the prof-

## REVOLUTIONARY CELLS COMMUNIQUE

**E**ver since the Right to Asylum was repealed in Germany on July 1, 1993 the powers that be want to stop the immigration of refugees at the external borders of the European Community. The measures taken to accomplish this are being unified within the framework of the Schengen Agreement. One component of this is the Eastward advancement of border controls. The German government for example has paid 120 million German Marks (\$70 million) to the government of Poland to strengthen controls at the Polish eastern border. In addition, the German Border Police was expanded in the beginning of 1993 by 1500 so-called police assistants to watch over the borders with Poland and the Czech

Republic. At the same time, the BGS is being technologically armed. Mobile radar and infra-red devices are now being tested to optimize their effectiveness in detecting refugees fleeing over the border. Every night the BGS patrols the eastern border of Germany in chase of those who against all odds manage to cross the border.

"In the night of October 2nd to October 3rd we blew up the power supply of the BGS-barracks in Frankfurt on the Oder and set on fire the BGS vehicles at the Rotenburg Airport. For Free Floods."

—Revolutionary Cells

—Translated from Megafon Nr.144 by Clyde, Infoshop  
Berkeley

**Megafon, Magazine from the Reithalle,**  
Bern Postfach 7611  
CH-3001 Bern  
Switzerland

es in the Third World. The massive movement of undocumented immigrants from the Third World to the First is also a form of resistance to this new world order. In contrast, the anti-NAFTA movement in the US was largely a movement demanding a return to the old pre-1970s deal for US workers, and not a movement that aligned itself with the global resistance movement.

The "left" of the US anti-NAFTA movement emphasized the low wages that would be paid to Mexican workers. These jobs, however, are some of the better paying ones available to Mexican workers. Defeating NAFTA would not have raised the wages paid to Mexican workers, and may in fact have had the opposite effect. This is the kind of "international labor solidarity" that delivers good feelings to US leftists and nothing to Third World workers. The responsibility of radicals in the US must go beyond paying lip service to the interests of Mexican workers only when they conveniently coincide with those of US workers. The anti-NAFTA movement's emphasis on defending "American jobs" is more likely to translate into anti-immigrant sentiment than into a demand for an end to border controls. The responsibility of radicals in the US is to link up domestic resistance to NAFTA and GATT with the global fight against immigration controls and IMF/World Bank imposed austerity measures.★

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# Housing the Poor—Fighting the Rich

**I**N NORTHERN NEW JERSEY, the Paterson Anarchist Collective has been organizing for the rights of low income housing recipients in Haledon, a town bordering Paterson. Section 8 housing is a government program that pays for rent. Participants are permitted eligible living space in any municipality in Passaic County (New Jersey) which does not have large scale low income housing development ("projects"). Low income housing inhabitants, participants in the Section 8 program, have been subject to police harassment, racist and classist comments and actions by their neighbors. Children have been picked on, questioned and terrorized in school. Complaints about these things to local politicians have been ignored

About 121 families of Haledon's 8,000 residents are on Section 8. Considering that the average family income is \$15,000 per year, this is not surprising. However, when 9 more Section 8 families were planning to move to Haledon, Mayor James Van Sickle, along with the City Council, made an attempt to bar them. Complaints that the tenants did not keep up their property, and were lowering the "quality of life" in the town by bringing in crime, drugs and prostitution, and that their children were filling the schools, were cited. Van Sickle said the program "attracts too many people from Paterson" (Paterson is a depressed urban center on the periphery of New York City). This was reported in Paterson's local pro-government newspaper.

P.A.C. members reprinted these articles on one side of a flier. The other side of the flier called for a demonstration/speak-out at the next city council meeting. Urging all Haledon residents who were either on Section 8, or who were outraged at the Mayor's racist and anti-poor remarks to participate, copies of this leaflet were distributed throughout the town. A P.A.C. member was arrested for posting the notices. His case is pending.

Several days before the City Council meeting, a Section 8 recipient informed P.A.C. that a group of Section 8 families would definitely be at the demo.

On the night of the city council meeting P.A.C., with supporters from the Lower East Side Class War Organizer and NJ Anarchist Youth Federation started the demo. At least a dozen people from Section 8 were already there. Later, a group of high school students joined in. The number of participants reached nearly 40.

The Mayor observed the protest and left. He returned with an Amerikkkan flag to hold a counter-

demo. Things exploded at this point. P.A.C. members screamed at him for mocking the protest. Section 8 families blasted him for his earlier comments. The mayor realized his mistake and retreated.

As people filed into the meeting, an argument broke out between the two camps. P.A.C. members came across a flier that had been made by anti-Section 8 residents. The original, "Come defend the rights of the 121 Section 8 families in Haledon" which had been on the P.A.C. flier, was changed to "Defend the Rights of Haledon, No More Section 8!" Tempers flew again, police and protestors faced off. It calmed down and all went into the courtroom.

The tone of the meeting was set when P.A.C. members refused to stand for the flag salute and conservatives were enraged. Not much was decided at this meeting.

Both pro- and anti-Section 8 groups are organizing support. P.A.C. is working with Section 8 families and their supporters to continue the struggle. ★

## Pro-Sex Booklet Available

**"J**UST SAY YES," A BOOKLET about almost every aspect of sexual activity was recently produced by the Coalition for Positive Sexuality (CPS) in Chicago. CPS includes students as well as members of ACT-UP, ECDC (Emergency Clinic Defense Coalition), No More Nice Girls, Queer Nation, and WAC.

In the introduction, they write: "Just say 'yes' means having a positive attitude about sexuality—gay, straight or bi. It means saying 'yes' to sex you do want, and 'no' to sex you don't. It means there's nothing wrong with you if you decide to have sex, and nothing wrong with you if you decide

they need to take care of themselves and each other."

The booklet is not written for the prying eyes of parents or teachers. It talks in real language about clits, dicks, tits and asses—what you can (and shouldn't) do with them and how much fun (and how dangerous) it can be.

About safe sex, they write "Nobody has a body to die for. Safe sex is always better," and include a section on lesbian safe sex. In the pregnancy and abortion section they provide information on how to tell a fake clinic from a real one, and provide a list of questions to ask before going to the clinic.

For info (and maybe a sample

## Canadian Elections

**C**ANADIANS VOTING IN the Oct 26 federal election ushered in a Liberal majority government, and split the country in two with respective regional majorities for the Bloc Québécois (BQ) in Québec, and the Reform Party (RP) in Alberta and British Columbia. In the last federal election of 1988, the BQ, a party based on Québec sovereignty, did not hold a single seat in Parliament. In this election, the BQ won 53 out of a possible 75 seats in Québec, giving them official opposition status over Reform's 52 seats. Riding a populist tide of anger after the 9 year rule of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his Progressive Conservative party, the RP has opened the door for the Christian right and more openly fascist groups particularly in western Canada. Although denied official opposition party status, the RP is significantly closer to the seats of

use right wing sentiment to carry out policies once distasteful to the traditionally moderate, left-leaning electorate. Such policies include those refusing refugee status to immigrants fleeing economic and political exploitation created by imperialism, and furthering the genocidal program of "assimilating" First Nation's Peoples into white Canadian settler society. In the words of one Reform candidate, "Native land claims and protestors and others may have to be put into camps run by the military if jails get overcrowded."

Portraying the "deficit" as the enemy of Canadian citizens, Reform would like to cut most social programs that act as a bit of a safety net for the exploited. According to the RP, there are no such things as wimmin's issues, and they wish to eliminate government funding to wimmin's centers, daycare, rape crisis cen-

# PRO SEX ZONE

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"Sex is enjoyable when everyone involved is into it, and when everyone has the information

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For info (and maybe a sample copy of "Just Say Yes", which is easily photocopied), write or call:

Coalition for Positive Sexuality  
3712 North Broadway, #191  
Chicago, IL 60613  
(312) 604-1654



PRO SEX



# NO

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# PRO SEX



# CALENDAR

**January 15-16**

Love and Rage Federation Council  
Meeting, NYC. Call (212)460-8390  
for more info or tell us you are coming.

**February**  
Black History Month

**March 8**  
International Womens Day

**April 28**

2nd Anniversary of the Los Angeles  
Rebellion

**May 9**

Tear Down the Borders!  
International Day of Action Against  
Immigration Controls/  
Anti-Immigrant violence

# Tenant Organizing

Squatters, anarchists, and other New York City housing activists in the Housing Solidarity Network have been very busy. In addition to working with residents of neglected city-owned buildings to take control over their living conditions, HSN has decided to bring their collective experience and knowledge to the people. HSN will be giving free classes about everything people need to know about tenant organizing and self-defense. As part of this discussion of tenant self-defense, the HSN folks plan to talk about the possibility of organizing a city-wide general rent strike. Stay tuned for further developments.

For info call Housing Solidarity Network (212) 713-5743

# Anarchist Scene Report Roundup



## Yellow Springs, OH

A group of students on the Antioch campus recently opened an alternative library, similar to an info- shop. The library features a wide range of radical materials, including books, zines, publications, and videos. Email access is planned, but local activists hope this facility will be able to expand its collection of printed materials too. Most of the people who run the library identify with the anarchist movement and are interested in obtaining more anarchist materials and networking with other anti-authoritarians. There is the possibility of starting a local Food Not Bombs. In an area hard-hit by rust belt economic decay, a community food project would be crucial to organizing. Donations are being solicited from many sources. Anyone wishing to help can contact:

Informational Terror  
Community Government

of Santa Cruz. A recent addition to the anarchist movement in Santa Cruz, Class War-Santa Cruz has organized a militant contingent in an AIDS march, co-sponsored a demonstration against the occupation of Somalia and called for a demonstration against far-right christian organizing now starting locally. We have also distributed materials on queer and class issues. Santa Cruz has a strong radical feminist presence, including many anarchists. We in Class War Santa Cruz do not buy into the local vs. continental organizing dichotomy and realize that while we focus locally to create anarchy and social justice, we must work with people in other areas to achieve this goal and look forward to networking. (We in the hinterlands are oft neglected.) Contact addresses:

Santa Cruz Food Not Bombs

PO Box 8091

Santa Cruz, CA 95061

tel. (408) 425-3345

(RP) stadium rally included about 100 anti-authoritarians and many others on a rainy Oct 22.

After some pushing and shoving with hostile RP members, the feeling of those present that this demonstration would surpass previous actions in its militancy was proved accurate.

A diverse bloc of anti-authoritarians left the mostly white paper-pushers and megaphone-hogs to block the gates of the stadium, preventing many RP supporters from entering. Anti-fascist slogans were spray-painted on the stadium.

Later, activists chanting "Cops Protect the Racists" left the main rally and crashed the fence, gaining entrance to the stadium. Ingenuity enabled 60 members of the bloc to charge towards the "friendly" fascists only to be clumsily stopped by the inexperienced Victoria police.

In related news, Autonomedia is really happy to announce that they have opened the

## OTHER ANARCHIST CONTACTS

This is a short list of some other anarchist resources. We don't have the space to be comprehensive, so we chose items which cover a broad range of anarchist ideas and activity.

### PUBLICATIONS

Alphabet Threat

3018 J Street No. 140, Sacramento, CA  
95816 (\$6-\$12 issues)

-a bi-monthly, winnin-centered newspaper, articles on sexuality, revolt, and other fun stuff

Anarchy c/o CAL (see address above)  
(\$12/6 issues/18 months)

-a quarterly journal, theoretically oriented, but with a situationist angle, news, lots of letters

Arm The Spirit  
PO Box 6326 Stn A  
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1P7  
CANADA

(\$10/10 issues)

-an anti-imperialist, autonomist journal, reports on international movements of armed resistance

Bayou La Rose  
c/o Wesley Everest, Educ. Proj.,  
302 N "J" Street  
No. 3, Tacoma, WA 98403  
-news on native struggles, ecological struggles, and more

Fifth Estate  
4632 2nd Ave., Detroit, MI 48201  
(\$6/4 issues)

-a three-times yearly paper with an anti-organizational bent, primitivist news, reviews, letters

Ideas and Action  
POB 40400, San Francisco, CA 94140  
(\$11.50/4 issues)  
-the annual publication of the Workers Solidarity Alliance, an anarcho-syndicalist (anarchist union) group

Industrial Worker  
1095 Market Street #204, San Francisco, CA 94103 (\$10/year)  
-monthly (roughly) publication of the Industrial Workers of the World (syndicalist), news, letters, analysis, labor movement stuff

Plain Words, c/o Paterson Anarchist Collective, PO Box 8532, Haledon, NJ 07508-8532  
-Anarchist, class-war, micronation support



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Informational Terror  
Community Government  
795 Livermore Street  
Yellow Springs, OH 45387

## Santa Cruz, CA

Santa Cruz (called Surf city by some) is a city of some fifty thousand people in northern California. Beaches, surf, and redwood forests act as a magnet for tourists from the San Francisco area, about an hour's drive away. A long history of radical politics has produced a political environment conducive to both revolutionary activity and institutionalized pseudoradicalism. As is often the case, state co-optation of radical politics in this city manifests itself in the tragic and absurd. A socialist city councilman calls for the arrest of homeless people trying to sleep at night. A bookstore owned by the mayor of the city is selling Rush Limbaugh's new book for its price in baloney (bologna), and carries Class War's "A Decade of Disorder" besides other more common left titles, while this same mayor pursues a policy criminalizing poverty.

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Santa Cruz GMB-IWW  
PO Box 534  
Santa Cruz, CA 95063  
sciwu@ucsb.ucs.edu

Out of the Cages  
PO Box 2960  
Santa Cruz, CA 95063

Class War-Santa Cruz  
PO Box 7007  
Santa Cruz CA 95061

## Burlington, VT

Municipal libertarians, organic farmers, study group intellectuals, direct action activists, students, and many others in their own niches round out the anti-authoritarian/anarchist scene here. With such a large and diverse scene (in a city of only 30,000), everybody is notably in their own cliques with little crossover; yet new perspectives are making it possible for us to learn from each other and move towards a more grassroots, locally-oriented and truly revolutionary direction. Some of the more long-running and active projects include: SPARC, a university funded radical speakers bureau; The Gadfly, a five-year-old

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In related news, Autonomedia is really happy to announce that they have opened the Activist Center, which will serve as an info-shop and small community space for radical left activist types. If you want more news about recent anti-fascist and fascist developments in Victoria, write or email Autonomedia at the addresses below.

Autonomedia  
A-5 1720 Douglas  
Victoria, BC V8W 2S7 Canada  
email: uc006@freenet.victoria.bc.ca

## Austin, TX

Anarchists in Austin, Texas are experiencing a mini-renaissance. Activities initiated by Students for a Classless University Movement (SCUM) a loosely organized collective of 15-20 "malcontents" on the University of Texas campus, are numerous. SCUM describes itself as being unlike "tighter" and more "anarchically coherent" collectives because SCUM aims at a broad focus and strategy.

SCUM began the semester with a walking tour of the U of T campus called "The Architecture of Repression." The tour showed the negative changes to the university's geography in the past 25 years in response to student struggle. Layout changes of this sort are common to many campuses. Examples

(10/10 issues)  
-an anti-imperialist, autonomist journal,  
reports on international  
movements of armed resistance

Bayou La Rose  
c/o Wesley Everest, Educ. Proj.,  
302 N "J" Street  
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Industrial Workers of the  
World (syndicalists), news, letters, analysis,  
labor movement stuff

Plain Words, c/o Paterson Anarchist  
Collective, PO Box 8532,  
Haledon, NJ 07508-8532  
-Anti-cop, class-war, prisoner-support  
focus. Action-oriented with a lot of energy.  
Produced irregularly.

Profane Existence  
POB 8722 Mpls, MN 55408  
(\$9/6 issues)  
-an anarcho-punk paper, with band  
reviews, anarchist news and  
history, and scene reports

Rebelles  
Les Editions Rouges et Noir, CP 205,  
succursale "C", Montréal,  
Quebec H2I 4K1 CANADA  
(\$10/year 6 issues)  
-bi-monthly French-language anarchist  
paper, lots of news and analysis

Wind Chill Factor  
POB 81961, Chicago, IL 60681  
thak@midway.uchicago.edu  
(\$15 cash/year)  
-a creative quarterly (roughly) with letters,  
polemical tirades, some ongoing  
discussions, reviews, and Chicago and  
international news. Monthly street sheet  
now available in Chicago and by email.

## SOURCES FOR LITERATURE

Most if not all of these folks will sell you  
anarchist literature by mail.

AYF Distribution  
PO Box 5585

Community Government  
795 Livermore Street  
Yellow Springs, OH 45387

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Because of its small size, many anarchist activists in Santa Cruz can work with more than one group. Food not Bombs serves four meals a week and distributes food on a fifth day at a community center in the mostly poor and Latino Beach Flats area. FNB also works against the criminalization of homelessness in the city, most blatantly expressed in the camping ban, which is used as an excuse for the local cops (recently exposed for their brutality and racism in the November 1993 issue of Harper's magazine, pp. 50-57) to beat up and arrest homeless people. The Santa Cruz General Membership Branch of the Industrial Workers of the World did much to defend women's health clinics this past summer when anti-choicers targeted nearby San Jose and not-so-nearby Denver (since the Fundies travel, we do too). We are working on organizing in some local businesses and have done support work in local labor struggles, such as those of the graduate students at UCSC and the still striking workers at Sunrise Mushrooms. Earth First! people are in a constant struggle to save local forests from logging interests, mainly Big Creek Lumber. Local Earth First!ers fought a hectic battle to save Grey Whale Ranch, a coastal forest area recently logged. An excellent animal liberation publication, *Out of The Cages*, also comes out

tel. (408) 425-3345  
**Santa Cruz GMB-IWW**  
PO Box 534  
Santa Cruz, CA 95063  
sciw@ucsb.ucs.edu

**Out of the Cages**  
PO Box 2960  
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The Native Forest Network recently held their first North American Forest Conference in Burlington and some folks in this new network are involved in bringing an anarchist perspective to the environmental movement.

On the down side, the Alarm, a journal of revolutionary ecology, is scaling back its production due to collective members' involvement in other local projects.

We also have the beginnings of a locally and regionally minded campaign against Hydro-Québec.

**Gadfly University of Vermont Billings Student Center**  
Burlington, VT 05405  
Email Garth at ckerwick@moose.uvm.edu

## Victoria, BC

A confrontation with a right-wing Christian Populist Canadian Reform Party

happy to announce that they have opened the Activist Center, which will serve as an info-shop and small community space for radical left activist types. If you want more news about recent anti-fascist and fascist developments in Victoria, write or email Autonomedia at the addresses below.

**Autonomedia**  
A-5 1720 Douglas  
Victoria, BC V8W 257 Canada  
email: uc006@freenet.victoria.bc.ca

## Austin, TX

Anarchists in Austin, Texas are experiencing a mini-renaissance. Activities initiated by Students for a Classless University Movement (SCUM) a loosely organized collective of 15-20 "malcontents" on the University of Texas campus, are numerous. SCUM describes itself as being unlike "tighter" and more "anarchically coherent" collectives because SCUM aims at a broad focus and strategy.

SCUM began the semester with a walking tour of the U of T campus called "The Architecture of Repression." The tour showed the negative changes to the university's geography in the past 25 years in response to student struggle. Layout changes of this sort are common to many campuses. Examples include: the placement of huge planters and fountains where large demonstrations occurred, and a "student union" building redesigned in response to student organizational meeting. Also visited were the offices of certain heinous professors, including economist Walt Rostow, architect of President Johnson's Vietnam war policy. The tour ended at the LBJ School, with its Mussolini-style fascist architecture and stairs that can only be goose-stepped. The role and creation of the public school in capitalism were discussed. Lastly the tour pointed out that despite these measures, students have still managed periodic creations of autonomous space in such institutions.

SCUM is planning a spate of activity in upcoming weeks including: a public forum on the theory and practice of Illegalism; a mass civil disobedience on bicycles; and the formation of a reading group.

Fortunately, not all of Austin's anarchist scene is on campus. The Atlatl Collective still exists and is producing the fourth issue of its paper. ★

-Anti-cop, class-war, prisoner-support focus. Action-oriented with a lot of energy. Produced irregularly.

**Profane Existence**  
POB 8722 Mpls, MN 55408  
(\$9/6 issues)  
-an anarcho-punk paper, with band reviews, anarchist news and history, and scene reports

**Rebelles**  
Les Editions Rouges et Noir, CP 205,  
succursale "C", Montréal,  
Québec H2L 4K1 CANADA  
(\$10/year 6 issues)  
-bi-monthly French-language anarchist paper, lots of news and analysis

**Wind Chill Factor**  
POB 81961, Chicago, IL 60681  
thak@midway.uchicago.edu  
(\$15 cash/year)  
-a creative quarterly (roughly) with letters, polemical tirades, some ongoing discussions, reviews, and Chicago and international news. Monthly street sheet now available in Chicago and by email.

### SOURCES FOR LITERATURE

Most if not all of these folks will sell you anarchist literature by mail.

**AYF Distribution**  
PO Box 8585,  
Mpls, MN 55408

**Bound Together Books**  
1369 Haight St,  
San Francisco, CA 94117

**Ediciones Antorcha**  
c/o Chantal López y Omar Cortés, Apdo.  
12-818, CP 03020, México, DF,  
MEXICO

**Left Bank Books**  
92 Pike St., Seattle, WA 98101

**Librairie Alternative**  
2035 Boulevard St. Laurent Montréal,  
Québec H2X 2T3, CANADA

**Perennial Books**  
PO Box B14,  
Montague, MA 01351

**Right to Existence Bookstore**  
285 Preakness Ave.  
Paterson, NJ 07508

**Wooden Shoe Books**  
112 South 20th St.,  
Philadelphia, PA 19103

# Vanguard vs. Vanguard: A Critique of Anti-Fascist Organizing

BY LORENZO KOM'BOA ERVIN

**F**IRSTLY, LET ME TELL YOU WHO I AM and about my background which entitles me to say these things, many of which the white radical movement will widely disagree with. I am a Black revolutionary anarchist and anti-racist organizer from Chattanooga, Tenn. I am a former member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Black Panther Party from the 1960's. I spent 15 years as a political prisoner in American federal prisons, including the infamous Marion federal prison and its control unit. More importantly, the better part of my life has been spent in struggles against the Klan and nazi movements in the South, including the last 10 years after I was released from prison 1983-1993. So I have paid my dues.

For quite a few years, I have been disturbed at the methods of the so-called North American anti-fascist movement which exists in this country. My views were cemented this past Saturday (Nov 6, 1993, see next page) at the anti-fascist demonstration in New Hope, Penn. against a rally by the USA Nationalist Party and the Delaware Valley KKK. It is not important to repeat everything which took place at the demo, but let it be said that the limited confrontation, "led" by left-wing factions, and attended by anarchists, was in my estimation very ineffective, and it highlights what is wrong with this approach in fighting racism and fascism in this country. I call this approach "vanguard versus vanguard," and even the anarchists were sucked into it.

I would like to talk about my impressions of that and the question of why we have to redefine racism and the roles of white and non-white organizers in the anti-racist movement. First, a large crowd of youthful, white, middle-class, male-dominated activists made up the demonstrators, and pretty much confined themselves to shouted slogans and personal/political invective at a small group of nazis and Klansmen, who were protected by an army of local cops and

movement has come to be led by white leftists as a major strategy in the first place. Although in fact not a new thing, this is alarming because it shows that white leftists are not cooperating to any real degree with anti-racist activists in the Black or Latino communities, and also highlights the fact that activists of color have a different view of all these events and the political questions around them. Yet it appears that the white left, with its vanguardist practice of the last 15 years or so has liquidated the role of Black and other non-white peoples, who are the primary victims of racist and fascist movements in America.

Activists of color look at the matter of racism as being more than just the coming of the Klan or nazis. Even though then nazis and the Klan are the vanguard of the fascist movement, they are not the primary enemy. The primary enemy is still capitalism and the

fascist state. It is the state which oppresses and murders people of color in large numbers; cops kill a hell of a lot more Blacks than the Klan, and cops are agents of the state.

Also, we believe that fascism, and racism, the inherent and most important component of fascism, is a mass ideology and in America is part of the cultural and political indoctrination of white people generally. We do not believe that fascism develops in every country in the same way, and we do not believe that the state has to suppress all sectors of the workers' movement with paramilitary movements of the right, or create an old-style nazi police state. For all intents and purposes, Black people and the non-white poor in this country already live in a police state, and it is a flight of middle-class leftist fancy to harp on a so-called "coming" fascist danger. It is like Chicken Little hollering about the sky

falling, when the ozone layer is depleted and we can see Mars from the Earth.

So, we don't talk such nonsense about Nazi-style concentration camps being planned to put down a working class revolt someday, when right now 60% of all women prisoners in US jails are Black, and when one in every four Black males in this country are in the prison or judicial system. This is craziness we do not indulge in, but to the white liberals and leftists the threat is that they will be treated like the poor. They continue to believe that only if minorities are exterminated in the German "final solution" style would a fascist national security state be a reality in America, while the bodies of victims are stacking up all around and the power of the police in Black communities show us that racial minorities

(Continued to page 17)

## Toronto ARA Marches on German Consulate

BY AN ANTI-FASCIST COMRADE IN TORONTO

**S**olidarity actions in Toronto, Canada for the International Day Of Action Against Racism And Fascism were endorsed by numerous anti-racist and community groups. Anti-Racist Action (ARA) called for a demonstration to protest nazi and state terror in Germany on Nov 9, the day commemorating the anniversary of Kristallnacht ("the night of broken glass," also known as Pogromnacht). A crowd of about 75 marched to the German consulate in Toronto to draw attention to today's neo-nazi terror campaigns against people of colour, disabled people, gays and lesbians and anti-fascists in Germany. At the consulate three candles were lit in memorial of those whose lives have been extinguished at the hands of fascists. Several community speakers addressed the crowd, including an activist from Kitchener whose outspoken anti-racist work has led to her home being firebombed twice by neo-Nazis. Other

While we remember the night of terror against the Jewish people on this day of action, we shed light on the fact that these nazi-pogroms against refugees and people of colour are again on the rise in our own

communities and abroad. Later that evening red paint was thrown on the doors and windows of the German consulate.

—From Autonome Forum

## Nov 9 Anti-Fascist Forum in NYC

BY JULIA

**N**YC ANARCHISTS AND OTHER anti-fascists commemorated Pogromnacht (Kristallnacht) on Nov 9 by holding a forum at ABC No Rio, a local anarchist community center. Several different local and international anti-fascist struggles were represented by the speakers on the panel.

Dan Sabater, member of the Mayday Skins and AYF organizer, spoke about the origins of the skinhead movement in the UK. He traced the history of racist and anti-racist skinheads in both Britain and

vanguard such as the Ku Klux Klan often obscures the pervasiveness of racism in the United States (see article, this page).

Hubert, a visiting anti-fascist from Germany, spoke about his experiences in confronting the growing fascist movement in Germany.

Stephanie from Apocalypse Now, an affinity group of ACT-UP New York, talked about the increasing violence and homophobic sentiment directed at queers in the US and its connection to the rising appeal of the christian right.

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Lorenzo Ervin gave a brief talk about anti-racist struggles in the United States, and the role of anarchists in relationship to those struggles. He argued that the common tendency of a white, middle-class, anti-racist "vanguard" that battles a racist

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Finally, Jeet Kei, an anarchist from Canada, talked about the recent elections in Canada and the strong showing by the Reform Party. He explained that the popular appeal of this party represents a move away from an ideology of Canadian "multiculturalism" and toward a more overtly racist and anti-immigrant sentiment. [see p. 14 for an interview with Jeet Kei]

These presentations were followed by a lively discussion.★



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## Columbus: Fighting the Klan

BY JEAN-MARC DIVELIOUR

**B**UOYED BY THE SUCCESS OF MOBILIZING anti-fascist anarchists to Chattanooga, Tenn. in September (See *Love and Rage*, vol 4 no 5), the Love and Rage Anti-Racist Working Group decided to help organize people to Columbus, Ohio to demonstrate against a planned Ku Klux Klan rally on Oct 23. Columbus was one in a series of eight cities in the Midwest chosen by the Knights of the KKK to hold publicity and recruitment rallies. This is the most prominent and "mainstream" Klan grouping, and is headed by Thom Robb. They have presented themselves as "non-violent" and

as denouncing the violent past. This, along with heavy organizing and national speaking tours, have flung Thom Robb's Klan to the forefront of the mainstream media.

This upsurge in activity from the right-wing has not gone unnoticed, however, as evidenced by the 2,000 people, mostly African youth, who showed up to tell the Klan what they thought of their racist ideas. The City had put in a lot of time and money to give protection for the 15-20 Klanspeople on the steps of the State Capitol. Prior to the demonstration it was announced that the City had been planning for weeks a new strategy of containment to avoid the kind of

attacks on the Klan that anti-racists had delivered in Indianapolis just weeks before. The liberals, who had no problems with the massive build-up in general, were hesitant to green-light the funds for it. They raised criticisms of the new 7-foot stainless steel fence built around the Capitol for the event. They were far more concerned about the "cost effectiveness" of the expensive fence than the fascist implications of it: anti-racists were caged and controlled while the Klan had free roam of the State Capitol.

However, the police and the media, celebrated victory, touting the fence, the metal detectors, pat-downs of every demonstrator, and enormous show of police force (200-300 riot cops with divisions on horses and many

(Continued to page 17)

## Pogromnacht Anti-Fascist Conference in Mexico, DF

BY TODD PRANE (REPORTED BY ANA LAURA HERNANDEZ)

**T**O COMMEMORATE POGROMNACHT (KRISTALLNACHT) and participate in the international day of anti-fascist actions, on Nov 9 in Mexico City an anti-fascist conference was held at the Centro Cultural del Tecolote of the UNAM. Over 200 people showed up to listen to comments by four speakers and participate in discussion relating to the topic. Among the speakers were a Belgian youth, Danny Yerna, who spoke of xenophobia in Belgium and gave advice for confronting organized hate groups;

## Resisting Fascism In Whittier

BY CHRIS CRASS

**T**HROUGHOUT THE WORLD FASCISM IS ON THE RISE, AND Whittier, Calif., is very much part of that world. On Nov 9, on the International Day of Action Against Fascism, anarchists came together in Whittier to protest the fascism, characterized by anti-immigrant sentiment among the general white population and the homophobic activity of the religious right that has been building in the community. Although there were only 15 of us, we stood at the busy intersection with our signs and banners and let people know that there was opposition to the status quo.

The demonstration was organized by the SoCal Web Collective. Members of the Long Beach East Bay Bombs, Alternative

## Pogromnacht Forum in Minneapolis

BY LAURA LIB

**T**HE ANTI-RACIST WORKING GROUP of the Twin Cities Anarchist Federation and the Jewish Activist Minyan cosponsored a well-attended forum on Nov 9 entitled: "Fighting Fascism, then and now." The poster advertising the event used the skinhead/storm trooper/pope image from the *Love and Rage* (vol. 4, no. 4) centerfold, which caused quite a controversy. A local rabbi and others objected to the image of the Pope, on the grounds that it equated the Catholic Church with the Nazis. To clear things up, someone from the audience gave us a complimentary presentation on the history of Catholicism's dealings with fascists.

The forum featured a video on non-Jewish partisan resistance to the WW II Nazi government. In addition, four local activists spoke on various topics: fascism and the Christian right, Jewish partisan resistance, local anti-fascist organizing and the logic of fascism and social control in America. The debate focused mostly around the issue of "free speech," tactics for opposing neo-Nazis, the history of fascism and fascist elements and dangers in the US. Anarchists sparred with the Trotskyists, as usual. Members of the local Socialist Workers Party (SWP) preached the "build the mass movement" line, this time to rationalize a hands-off position on hate speech so as not to "alienate the working class" (to whose innermost thoughts only the SWP are privy). The high point of the forum was getting the SWP folks to admit that their position, however "tactical," was unprincipled. Nothing like commanding that moral high ground.

A healthy debate over anti-fascist tactics still rages within the anarchist movement. Issues that came up at the forum were:

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On Nov 14, a Rock Against Fascism concert at the Hong Kong Cafe was attended by 200 people. The show, organized by the Alternative Gathering Campaign, generated money for People Against Racist Terror, who did a presentation at the show.★

## No Hope for Nazis in New Hope, PA

BY TODD PRANE AND ELIZABETH BRIGHT

**O**N NOV 6, 1993, ANTI-FASCISTS from the Northeast confronted cops and Nazis in New Hope, PA. The USA Nationalist Party, a small Nazi bonehead organization based in northern Philadelphia, announced they would march in New Hope and rally in nearby Washington Crossing park, activities they called "Gay Bash '93". New Hope is a town in northeastern Pennsylvania with a strong queer community. Anti-fascists from New York came on two buses organized by Love and Rage and three vans organized by the International Socialist Organization (ISO). In addition to Love and Rage and ISO, groups in attendance included Mayday RASH skins (Red and Anarchist Skin Heads—anti-racist skinhead crew from Brooklyn and New Jersey).

York full of rowdy anarchists, queers, Trotskyists, ACT-UP folks, and others arrived in the downtown area shortly after 10 a.m. and headed towards the scene of the confrontation. By the time the second New York bus and Philly buses headed south, cops had blocked off access to route 32 in anticipation of trouble. Several crowds of people decided

to walk around the road block and four miles down the road to the park.

Washington Crossing Park is divided into two sections, separated by over four miles of road. A "Stop the Hate" rally was held in the southern section sponsored by a loose coalition including Peacekeepers' Network and Sane-Freeze. The Nazi "Gay

Bash '93" rally was in the northern section. "Stop the Hate," billed as "non-violent and non-confrontational," seemed calculated to draw attention and people away from any real confrontation. It succeeded to some extent. Around 50 demonstrators interested

(Continued to page 17)



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Issues that came up at the forum were: building a principled opposition to hate groups instead of a "free market" of ideas, the dangers of having speech restrictions turned against us and the issue of physical violence. Fun was had by all.★

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## NAZIS DEFEATED

The Nazis were largely defeated even before our arrival. On Thursday, in a joint press conference with the cops, they announced their withdrawal of a request for a permit to march. The reason given was safety (police estimated 2,000 to 3,000 counter-demonstrators). Creating the possibility of hundreds or thousands of counter-protestors willing to physically confront the Nazis made it impossible for them to march.

## THE RALLY AT WASHINGTON CROSSING

The march was cancelled, but the rally at Washington Crossing park went on as scheduled. Buses from Philadelphia and New

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Queer love (inset) and anti-racist skinhead rage in New Hope

# INTERNATIONAL NEWS AND NOTES



# Autonomists Support Prisoners in Spanish State

THE AUTONOMOUS PRISONER support group ASAPA has filed a formal complaint against the head of the Torrero prison for the death of the autonomist Jorge Barrios, the cell mate of Pablo Serrano. ASAPA has also

sponsored discussions in Azuara (in Aragon) in order to move forward with the immense amount of support work for prisoners in Aragon which has been accumulating. Specifically, they want to be able to respond to the concrete necessities of prisoners. At the discussions they denounced torture and abuse of prisoners, did investigative work and began mobilizations. Right now they are working on a unified "platform"

to coordinate the forces of draft resisters, romas ("gypsies"), anti-AIDS groups, neighborhood organizations, and others who have an interest in doing prison work.

For further information please contact:

ASAPA  
c/ Luz n 10  
50002 Zaragoza  
SPAIN

## Russian and German Nazis Join Forces

TWO NAZI GROUPS—THE Russian National Entity (RNE) and the German National Offensive—met in Moscow in mid-October to discuss possible joint actions in the future. Solidarity actions were scheduled in both countries for Dec 4-11. Both the RNE and the

## Kurds Massacred in Turkey

FROM OCT 21-26 TURKISH troops destroyed the Kurdish town of Lice, killing hundreds, wounding many others, and leaving no houses, stores or offices. During those four days, no one was permitted to go in or out of the town. On the second day of the attack an army general was killed, which the army used as an excuse to completely demolish the town. The death of the

German National Offensive have been outlawed in their respective countries and the actions were to demand that the organizations be legalized. The RNE is the strongest fascist group in Russia right now. They participated in the armed protection of the Parliament in September (and were then banned). The Russian Ministry of Security, formerly the KGB, has confirmed reports of the group's actions, including the meeting and plan for action with the National Offensive, but claims that it is, of course, powerless to do anything about it.

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or by fax 095-9210655

## Indigenous Struggle in Honduras

RESPONDING TO HUMAN rights violations by the Honduran government, the leaders of the seven indigenous ethnic groups of Honduras plan to bring charges against the govern-

## Homeless Squat Campus

ON WEDNESDAY, OCT 22 at 10am, 11 homeless families occupied the Republic of Ecuador College, in Madrid, situated next to the Opañel Metro with the intent to live there. There were about 50 people there, gypsies, campesinos and lots of babies and children. At the same time, they wanted to pressure the city government for their immediate relocation to floors in the IVIMA which they had already been granted but not actually allowed to occupy. Now it appears that they will be given access to the property in January. These families were living in houses for poor people on Eusebio Morón St., but city hall evicted them in May, and until recently they had been

living on the street. All of this is due to a speculative maneuver: the construction of the "Elliptical Plaza Project," houses for rich people, over the ruins of houses of the poor.

During the occupation of the college (where they are going to stay until they get relocated) they were supported by the Neighbor's Association and the Lucha Autónoma (Autonomous Fight). They have obtained signatures against police harassment to which they have been subjected (shopping bag searches and searches of all people entering the college).

—translated from: *Noticias Red Latinoamericana de Información sobre Europa*.

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equipment for sea-diving.

In Yamaranguila in the western half of Honduras, a community of 2,000 Lenca Indians is in danger of being wiped out by drought. In two months 216 people died of

In the last three years nine

# INTERNATIONAL

**T**WO NAZI GROUPS—THE Russian National Entity (RNE) and the German National Offensive—met in Moscow in mid-October to discuss possible joint actions in the future. Solidarity actions were scheduled in both countries for Dec 4-11. Both the RNE and the

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The Turkish government has also ordered 10,000 more soldiers into southeast Turkey, the area of heaviest Kurdish resistance. The anti-guerrilla troops were moved into the area in December, indicating more violence as the March national elections approach.★

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**R**ESPONDING TO HUMAN rights violations by the Honduran government, the leaders of the seven indigenous ethnic groups of Honduras plan to bring charges against the government to the Inter-America Court of Human Rights before the end of the year. The leaders represent more than 500,000 indigenous people who have seen increased violence from the government since president Callejas took office in 1990.

Included among the violations cited are the fact that the government has done nothing to prevent the destruction and theft of native land.

In the last three years nine natives have been brutally murdered. Several were indigenous leaders who had refused to sell their land. Work conditions for natives are equally murderous, and Miskito divers die in huge numbers because their employers will not provide proper

equipment for sea-diving.

In Yamaranguila in the western half of Honduras, a community of 2,000 Lenca Indians is in danger of being wiped out by drought. In two months 316 people died of starvation.

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## Airline Strike Rocks France

PROTESTING PRIVATIZATION and layoffs, thousands of employees of government-owned Air France walked off their jobs on Oct 26. The strike has been characterized by militancy, participation by both union and non-union groups, and the breadth of the strike, which also includes airport ground staff. Strikers have confronted police at airports with rocks, plane de-icers, and other makeshift weapons. Government officials fear that the strike, voicing the rising anger of workers as promises of privatization and its anti-worker consequences become real, could lead to a general strike similar to the one in 1968.

Already the government has agreed to end its plan for forced layoffs, although it has not given in on any other issues as of our press date.★

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Graphic by Gord H., Oh-Toh-Kin



Turkish woman attacks Nazi bonehead

## Interview with a German Anti-Fascist

The following is an interview that appeared in Fighting Talk, the magazine of Anti-Fascist Action (ANTIFA) in Britain, with an autonome anti-fascist from Germany, a member of Antifaschistische Aktion/Bundesweite Organisation (Antifascist Action/Nationwide Organization).

**What's the major fascist outfit on the streets and what are their strengths?**

It's not quite easy to identify a fascist in daily life. Apart from fascist skinheads, they look pretty ordinary. But if you look at demos or parades they wear special combat gear that shows quite clearly the tradition under which they are marching. For example, FAP (the successor of the NSDAP) activists wear uniforms on marches which are almost identical to the historical Nazi uniforms. For the fascists, this is one

neously or "out of a mood." These kids are the ones the fascists try to get hold of, this is their recruiting ground where they try to draw the kids into their organization. And that's the real great danger. If the fascists succeed in doing so.

**In Britain, one of the most important strategies of the BNP in recent years has been to jump on the back of racial difficulties on estates etc., presenting themselves as the answer for white residents, and their emphasis on parades etc., has been limited in favor of this. A similar thing happened in Rostock, but how many other "Rostocks" have gone unreported, and what, if anything, has been the response of militant anti-fascists in Germany?**

After Rostock, the fascists tried to create loads of "little

tingen is situated), there are no structures comparable to local communities in Britain. If there's a fascist attack or something, an anti-fascist emergency phone call is activated, calling together in a relatively short period of time a few dozen people. Be sure, with every political initiative, we're trying again and again to involve people from all different strata. The difficulties with that were mentioned earlier on.

**What is the level of pressure that is being put on the fascists on the streets? Are there any notable or landmark victories?**

We already tried to answer that a bit in the first question, so we'll give you just a few examples of well-done direct actions against fascists.

In the early '80s when the militant neo-nazis started to



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For most people, especially on the territory of the ex-GDR, left ideas, utopias, are no real alternative because of 40 years of GDR dictatorship. They say: if that was socialism, then I don't want to have anything to do with socialism. So we can't reach huge parts of the German population with progressive ideas and our propaganda at the moment. On the other hand, many people lose confidence in capitalism, rising unemployment and no economic perspective drive people to despair. This is the ground on which fascist propaganda succeeds. Slogans like "German jobs for German workers only" are well received.

Racism, especially, in large areas of German society, is a good breeding ground for fascist organizations. Talking big, right-wing slogans, music from fascist bands, is trendy. Not all of these kids are hard-core fascists, but this is a "twilight zone" where racist, fascist ideas are mixed with youth rebellion.

This is the sphere where most of the brutal attacks against foreigners come from. It happens mostly sponta-

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After Rostock, the fascists tried to create loads of "little Rostocks" but didn't succeed in gathering again such a massive crowd to follow their terror. Since then, almost every day fascist attacks take place. To get an impression, here are a few official figures from the Office for the Protection of the Constitution.

Needless to say, the real figures are a lot higher. 1992 saw 2,584 serious fascist attacks, 90% against foreigners. It's 74% more than in '91. Seventeen people got killed in '92 by fascists. Usually, after a fascist attack has taken place, a demonstration is organized by anti-fascist groups. That's not enough, no question. But also direct, militant actions take place. Again official figures: In '92, 398 militant actions happened against fascists, almost 400 got rather badly injured. The well-known fascist leader Gerhard Kaindl was killed in Berlin by anti-fascists.

**What successes have anti-fascists had in organizing with local communities against the fascists? What is the level of resistance of local ethnic communities in response to racial attacks?**

Speaking for the southern part of Lower-Saxony (where Göt-

tingen is situated), there are no structures comparable to local communities in Britain. If there's a fascist attack or something, an anti-fascist emergency phone call is activated, calling together in a relatively short period of time a few dozen people. Be sure, with every political initiative, we're trying again and again to involve people from all different strata. The difficulties with that were mentioned earlier on.

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In the early '80s when the militant neo-nazis started to show their faces, several attacks were launched against their infra-structure and leading figures. A famous one is that against a "Wehrsportlager" (fascist training camp) near Celle in north Germany. In December '84 an antifascist commando unit set the whole place on fire. Most of the barracks, five lorries, five jeeps, several vans, trailers with rubber dinghies, tents, uniforms, the radio operation office, etc., burnt to ashes. The damage inflicted upon the fascist logistics went into the millions.

In June '89 another antifascist commando unit stormed the flat of neo-nazi leader, Christian Worch, dressed like a police special riot squad (wearing masks, etc.). He believed himself arrested and was easily overpowered. Loads of fascist files and records as well as other interesting material changed ownership. It took a while for the fascists to realize who the uninvited visitors were.

The FAP Headquarters in Mackenrode near Göttingen was attacked by 30 anti-fascists in October '91. A short skirmish took place in which 15 of the fascists got their heads kicked in, none of the anti-fascists were injured. These are just three well executed militant direct actions from a long list of...let's say "practical" anti-fascist activities.★

# Anti-Fascism in the Spanish State

**Zaragoza—AFTER THE EXPLOSION of a bomb in the National Front offices and other anti-fascist actions on Oct 12, over 250 people, the majority masked, stormed the**

bats and he suffered three broken ribs, among other injuries. He will require an operation. He has had several pulmonary complications and was still hospitalized as of

ken finger and contusions on his head and face. Before this aggression, the fascists had attacked a nearby bar, where the radical youth of Leganés often gather.

## Red Army Fraction Splits

**A**FTER MORE THAN A YEAR of internal political disputes, the Rote Armee

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Speaking for the southern part of Lower-Saxony (where Göt-

tingen is located) the official figure is 1,000 attacks. In 1992, 1,000 attacks were registered. In 1991, 600. In 1990, 400. In 1989, 200. In 1988, 100. In 1987, 50. In 1986, 20. In 1985, 10. In 1984, 5. In 1983, 3. In 1982, 2. In 1981, 1. In 1980, 1. In 1979, 1. In 1978, 1. In 1977, 1. In 1976, 1. In 1975, 1. In 1974, 1. In 1973, 1. In 1972, 1. In 1971, 1. In 1970, 1. In 1969, 1. In 1968, 1. In 1967, 1. In 1966, 1. In 1965, 1. In 1964, 1. In 1963, 1. In 1962, 1. In 1961, 1. In 1960, 1. In 1959, 1. In 1958, 1. In 1957, 1. In 1956, 1. In 1955, 1. In 1954, 1. In 1953, 1. In 1952, 1. In 1951, 1. In 1950, 1. In 1949, 1. In 1948, 1. In 1947, 1. In 1946, 1. In 1945, 1. In 1944, 1. In 1943, 1. In 1942, 1. In 1941, 1. In 1940, 1. In 1939, 1. In 1938, 1. In 1937, 1. In 1936, 1. In 1935, 1. In 1934, 1. In 1933, 1. In 1932, 1. In 1931, 1. In 1930, 1. In 1929, 1. In 1928, 1. In 1927, 1. In 1926, 1. In 1925, 1. In 1924, 1. In 1923, 1. In 1922, 1. In 1921, 1. In 1920, 1. In 1919, 1. In 1918, 1. 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# BLACK CROSS

**H**AROLD THOMPSON IS AN anti-authoritarian and anti-imperialist prisoner serving a life sentence in Tennessee. Born in West Virginia to Irish parents, Harold became active in the '60s anti-war movement, particularly with Vietnam Veterans Against the War. He is associated with the Ohio 7, who were charged with the armed actions of the United Freedom Front and the Melville-Jackson Brigade, and was subpoenaed to their trial in 1989. He is also associated with the Irish Republican Socialist Party.

Harold was arrested in 1979 in Chattanooga, Tennessee for allegedly killing a police informant/convicted killer who murdered the mother of Harold's son

Well-known in prison for his jailhouse-lawyer activities, Harold has been the target of serious harassment from prison guards, including confiscation of legal materials and cell searches. On Feb 11, 1993, he was the victim of a cell shakedown in which legal documents and books were confiscated. In April 1993, he filed a civil-rights grievance against prison authorities, but the presiding judge dismissed the case. On July 22, two guards confiscated his law books, case work, political materials, and personal corre-

spondence, and put him in segregation. They served him with a disciplinary infraction report which stated that he was under investigation for possible escape plans.

On July 30 a due-process hearing denied him his constitutional rights by not allowing him to call witnesses in his defense or to face the anonymous source for the escape plan information. The hearing updated his security classification from Minimum Restricted to Maximum Security Prison. He had no chance to appeal and was not told what the specific charges against him were. The hearing obviously had its mind made up before it began. It was Harold's punishment for his anarchist politics and his free legal work for prisoners, especially Black prisoners.

The maximum security classification has limited his rights to mail and package privileges, as well as limiting visitation rights. Harold has filed a civil-rights lawsuit against seven members of the prison staff. He is attempting to prove a frame-up campaign under federal civil statutes, which would mean that the defendants were deliberately involved in a criminal scheme to get him transferred and his security status changed.

Letters of protest (moderate in



## Harold Thompson Needs Support

tone, and mentioning the frame-up tactics used against him) are very important and can be sent to:

**Commissioner Christine Bradley**  
Tenn. Dept. of Corrections  
Rachel Jackson Building  
Nashville, TN 37243-0456

**Mr. Howard Cook**  
Director of Classification Programs  
Rachel Jackson Building  
Nashville, TN 37243-0456

**Warden Robert M. Conley**  
Lake County Regional Correction Facility  
Route 1, Box 330  
Tiptonville, TN 38079-9775

The campaign is attempting to raise \$400 to replace Harold's law books and buy him a Brother WP-2400 word processor, as well as pay legal fees, postage and copying. Donations of money and stamps, as well as requests for information on the campaign, can be sent to:

**Harold Thompson Support Campaign**  
Brooklyn ABC c/o NY-AYF  
PO Box 365  
Canal Street Sta.  
NY, NY 10013-0365

Harold Thompson can be reached at:

**Harold H. Thompson #93992**  
W.T.H.S.F. Unit 6-D-110  
Route 2, Green's Chapel Rd.  
Heming, TN 38041

## Tear Down the Walls Campaign

**N**IGHTCRAWLERS ANARCHIST Black Cross is a pris-

country. They have struggled to change our society and continue

biographies from the prisoners. Once they are gathered, we will

# ABC BACK IN THE SPOTLIGHT



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Harold was arrested in 1979 in Chattanooga, Tennessee for allegedly killing a police informant/convicted killer who murdered the mother of Harold's son and also threatened Harold's son. He was also charged with expropriating funds from a jewelry store and given life plus 50 years. Later, 21 to 75 more years were added for a shooting incident in Ohio. In November, 1986 he began a five-year-and-four-month period in maximum security/solitary confinement after a failed armed escape attempt. He was sentenced to 32 more years.

## Denver 3 Update

**O**N THE LAST ABC PAGE, we reported on the case of the Denver 3. They are three members of ACT-UP who were indicted in August for allegedly participating in the Jan 14 "desecration" of a Catholic cemetery. During the January action tombstones were draped with plastic bags painted with

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Letters of protest (moderate in

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Route 2, Green's Chapel Rd.  
Henning, TN 38041

## Tear Down the Walls Campaign

**N**IIGHTCRAWLERS ANARCHIST Black Cross is a prisoner support group working in the New York/New Jersey area. We are initiating the Tear Down the Walls Prisoner Solidarity and Support Campaign to build local support for political prisoners, prisoners of war, and prisoners of social conscience in the New Jersey prison system who are not currently being supported.

There are many revolutionaries locked down in prisons across the

country. They have struggled to change our society and continue to do so. Because of their continued activity, many of these dedicated fighters are placed in control units--prisons within prisons. We cannot allow the state to silence them. Prisoners need our solidarity and support to keep their struggles alive.

We need to bring material aid and concrete support to these prisoners. Without our aid it is difficult for them to meet many of their basic needs. Communicating with people on the inside and maintaining their contact with the community is crucial to ending their isolation. To make real change, everyone must be involved and there is much to learn from our captured comrades.

There are huge numbers of prisoners who need our solidarity and support.

We are currently gathering

biographies from the prisoners. Once they are gathered, we will distribute this information to all those interested in support work. We will also distribute an Anarchist Black Cross How-to Manual we have put together (it's a compilation of relevant articles and lists of resources).

If you are in the New York/New Jersey area and would like to participate in this campaign, if you are outside the area and would like to hear more about what we are doing, if you'd like to support the campaign with a contribution, or if you are interested in the How-to Manual, please contact us. We would like to see this campaign expand and hopefully see more projects like it.

Nightcrawlers ABC  
PO Box 20181  
Tompkins Sq. Sta.  
NY, NY 10009

# ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

## Late-Breaking News

Sundiata Acoli was recently denied parole by the New Jersey State Parole Board. They have also attempted to set the next date for a parole hearing **10 years from now**. Send letters of protest to: NJ State Parole Board/CN 862/Trenton, NJ 08625 / tel: (609) 292-4257 / fax: 984 2190.

and also threatened Harold's son. He was also charged with expropriating funds from a jewelry store and given life plus 50 years. Later, 21 to 75 more years were added for a shooting incident in Ohio. In November, 1986 he began a five-year-and-four-month period in maximum security/solitary confinement after a failed armed escape attempt. He was sentenced to 32 more years.

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Madrid St. Angelo, Lorna Wheeler, and Taylor St. John were each charged with two felonies and two misdemeanors. If convicted, they could receive sentences of up to 15 years in prison. All 3 were arrested the day after the indictment. Lorna was held in jail in Los Angeles for 15 days, then extradited to Denver to post \$50,000 bond. Madrid and Taylor were held for a week in Chicago and bonded out for \$10,000. In November they were extradited to Colorado and taken into custody. They still need \$15,000 bond to be released. Meanwhile, their jobs are jeopardized and the security of their homes threatened as a result of their charges. Moreover, two of the defendants are HIV positive, so a prison sentence would be a likely death sentence.

The Denver 3 are expecting a long and costly trial in Colorado,

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the state which passed the notorious Amendment Two, denying protections for civil rights for gays and lesbians.

It is important to note that in this case, as in many others, a grand jury was used to divide the queer community. Prosecutors subpoenaed and gathered testimony from the community to obtain indictments against the Denver 3. Grand juries are a common tactic to divide and conquer political movements by forcing people to become informers. Everyone in the activist community is at risk.

Checks to help pay legal fees for the Denver 3 can be made payable to the two legal defense funds:

Legal Defense Fund  
c/o ACT-UP Chicago  
PO Box 579002, #275  
Chicago, IL 60613  
(312) 509-6802

Freedom Defense Fund  
c/o ACT-UP Denver  
PO Box 9752  
Denver, CO 80209  
(303) 643-4386

Information from:

Anarchist Black Cross Chicago  
POB 81961  
Chicago, IL 60681

to do so. Because of their continued activity, many of these dedicated fighters are placed in control units--prisons within prisons. We cannot allow the state to silence them. Prisoners need our solidarity and support to keep their struggles alive.

We need to bring material aid and concrete support to these prisoners. Without our aid it is difficult for them to meet many of their basic needs. Communicating with people on the inside and maintaining their contact with the community is crucial to ending their isolation. To make real change, everyone must be involved and there is much to learn from our captured comrades.

There are huge numbers of prisoners who need our solidarity and support.

We are currently gathering

## Anarchist Black Cross and Other Prisoner Support Groups

ABC Baltimore  
PO Box 19245  
Baltimore, MD 21213

ABC Chicago  
c/o WCF  
PO Box 81961  
Chicago, IL 60681

Nightcrawler ABC  
PO Box 20181 Tompkins Sq. Station  
NY, NY 10009

ABC Minneapolis  
PO Box 581354  
Minneapolis, MN 55458-1354

Paterson Anarchist Collective ABC  
PO Box 8532  
Haledon, NJ 0708-8532

ABC Portland  
c/o Rosebud Commons  
1951 W. Burnside  
Box 1928  
Portland, OR 97209

Washington ABC  
1725 Irving St. NW  
Washington, DC 20010

ABC Wisconsin  
PO Box 173  
Madison, WI 53701-0173

Ratspike ABC  
PO Box 8054  
Victoria BC V8W 3R7  
Canada

Prison News Service  
PO Box 5052, Stn. A  
Toronto, ONT MSW 1W4  
Canada

## Notes on Anarchist Organization

The articles on this page are translations from the May edition of Amor y Rabia, the Spanish-language counterpart to Love and Rage produced in Mexico. These articles were printed as part of a section entitled "Notes on Anarchist Organization" as part of an effort to foster discussion about anti-authoritarian theories and structures of organizing. We offer them in the same spirit. These articles were originally printed in AGITACION A, by the comrades in GEA (Grupo de Editores Anarquistas—Group of Anarchist Editors) in Buenos Aires, Argentina.



German anti-nuclear demonstration, 1981

# The Case For Anarchist Organization

By FLOYD, GROUP OF ANARCHIST EDITORS, BUENOS AIRES,  
ARGENTINA

**N**OT SURPRISINGLY, WE HAVE HEARD THE CLAIM that organization is not compatible with anarchist philosophy, and that the coordination and distribution of tasks is in contradiction with anarchism. Our position is quite different.

**Organization is the goal of anarchism, end and**

majority before the unlimited decision-making faculty of the minority. This is not compatible in any way with the work that anarchists hope to carry out and with the organizational forms that we imagine and have applied for action.

Throughout history, the mechanisms of immediate practical action have been applied with robust success by revolutionary anarchist organizations. Even in the most terrible and adverse conditions, they are created according to the

be learned by children, that authority is the one that we, the anarchists, have proposed to destroy and that blow by blow, death by death, we will destroy.

Is it possible to believe, then, that organization or the designation of coordinators is a contradiction to anarchism?

No. Definitely not. These would be the contradictions of individualism poorly understood and even more poorly practiced, the very means of Darwinist egoism, but not at

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**Organization is the goal of anarchism, end and means.**

We believe in horizontal and voluntary organization of groups and communities by means of freely established contracts. We are not anti-organizationalists nor have we been; we do not oppose the coordination of tasks, but rather all structures that make possible any form of oppression and exploitation.

Throughout our history we have demonstrated that it is possible to organize ourselves for the most complex tasks—from production and distribution to prolonged popular war—in a free, anti-authoritarian manner, totally free of coercion.

The only limitation of freedom that we accept and consider legitimate is that of **self-limitation**, which implies a free contract agreed to in an equality of conditions between members of a group.

When a liberatory organization, because of the environment in which it operates, needs to avail itself of mechanisms of immediate, practical action (for example, a guerrilla during combat), there is no reason for its members to create authoritarian positions or organisms. In fact, the only reason to create such structures would be if it were impossible for the individuals involved to think and decide for themselves.

That is to say, there is no organizational reason to obligate a specific group to submit themselves to any person, as though they needed the blind obedience of the

majority before the unlimited decision-making faculty of the minority. This is not compatible in any way with the work that anarchists hope to carry out and with the organizational forms that we imagine and have applied for action.

Throughout history, the mechanisms of immediate practical action have been applied with robust success by revolutionary anarchist organizations. Even in the most terrible and adverse conditions, they are created according to the model of free contract: the individuals, in an equality of conditions, convene in an assembly or conference and designate one or more spokespersons, delegates, or coordinators who, according to the tactical or strategic lines and the rules which have been established by the members of the group in question, coordinate the action during the moments in which the general assembly meeting is not possible.

These coordinators or delegates don't have anything more than a relative and provisional authority (because they are following the limitations of the assembly), and they are elected because their comrades consider them to have appropriate skills for the tasks that they are charged with. At the same time, they are permanently removable and any decision that they make can be reversed by the agreement of the group or cell in which they act, and the comrades never owe them blind allegiance.

All authority which requires this type of obedience (that is, all authority that we know of) is shit and highly pernicious to the social organism. Institutionalized authority, authority sustained through exploitative and oppressive structures, authority of the armed class or the owners of riches, the authority of the generators of consciences who are the wardens of theology, the authority of all of those that determine knowledge and the way in which it must

be learned by children, that authority is the one that we, the anarchists, have proposed to destroy and that blow by blow, death by death, we will destroy.

Is it possible to believe, then, that organization or the designation of coordinators is a contradiction to anarchism?

No. Definitely not. These would be the contradictions of individualism poorly understood and even more poorly practiced, the very means of Darwinist egoism, but not at all dialectical anarchist problems.

Individualism that opposes all kinds of organization is not compatible with the social anarchism that we propose. We believe that personal sovereignty is the first guarantee of liberty and freedom of the individual before his/her comrades. And it is by interweaving this infinite web of freedoms and solidarity as individuals associating mutually that we construct a new society based on justice.

We hold, as anarchist-communists, that individualism ostracizes. Those that hope to find freedom in the isolation of people can only hope to achieve alienation, misery, inequality, and uniform mutual aggression, an essentially capitalist chaos, but with less forethought.

Dissociating the voluntary union of selves and nuclei of free selves is to leave the social organism in the most criminal and negligent defenselessness; it is to socialize misery as perversely as it is already in this society.

Our objectives? Liberatory organization as a revolutionary tool, the abolition of capital and salaried (paid) work, the abolition of authoritarian structures of classes, popular self-defense by means of the creation of militias, built out of the oppressed classes, that guarantee free communism and socialist self-determination.

Our movements will grow. We will organize ourselves as anarchists, for a world without countries and without authority.★

## Forms of Horizontal Organization

**B**elow are some possibilities for horizontal organization with respect to different environments in which action develops and the different types of action that can be taken:

in increasing order. These councils are charged with the maintenance of living spaces, communal centers and all of the infrastructure that contributes to the well-being of the population, works of

sible for: coordinating action during combat; taking general directives of the base assemblies to the other organizational organisms; preparing along with others the plans to achieve the tactical

if circumstances demand the participation of others more able or prepared. Additionally, the assembly can divide functions according to the work to be done, which allows for the formation of

lish and maintain relations between the union and other popular organizations, improve and modify to the necessary degree the techniques and the models of work, ensure the well-

means.

We believe in horizontal and voluntary organization of groups and communities by means of freely established contracts. We are not anti-organizationalists nor have we been; we do not oppose the coordination of tasks, but rather all structures that make possible any form of oppression and exploitation.

Throughout our history we have demonstrated that it is possible to organize ourselves for the most complex tasks—from production and distribution to prolonged popular war—in a free, anti-authoritarian manner, totally free of coercion.

The only limitation of freedom that we accept and consider legitimate is that of **self-limitation**, which implies a free contract agreed to in an equality of conditions between members of a group.

When a liberatory organization, because of the environment in which it operates, needs to avail itself of mechanisms of immediate, practical action (for example, a guerrilla during combat), there is no reason for its members to create authoritarian positions or organisms. In fact, the only reason to create such structures would be if it were impossible for the individuals involved to think and decide for themselves.

That is to say, there is no organizational reason to obligate a specific group to submit themselves to any person, as though they needed the blind obedience of the

and adverse conditions; they are created according to the model of free contract: the individuals, in an equality of conditions, convene in an assembly or conference and designate one or more spokespersons, delegates, or coordinators who, according to the tactical or strategic lines and the rules which have been established by the members of the group in question, coordinate the action during the moments in which the general assembly meeting is not possible.

These coordinators or delegates don't have anything more than a relative and provisional authority (because they are following the limitations of the assembly), and they are elected because their comrades consider them to have appropriate skills for the tasks that they are charged with. At the same time, they are permanently removable and any decision that they make can be reversed by the agreement of the group or cell in which they act, and the comrades never owe them blind allegiance.

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practices, the very heart of Darwinist organism, do not all dialectical anarchist problems.

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## Forms of Horizontal Organization

**B**elow are some possibilities for horizontal organization with respect to different environments in which action develops and the different types of action that can be taken:

**Factories:** Workers' councils and technicians charged with coordinating the production and maintenance of the factory, as well as coordination and communication with other production and distribution units.

**Centers of Study:** Student councils on teaching that determine in common the forms and subjects of study, with a relationship of solidarity with other organizations in the community and with other centers of study.

**Neighborhoods and Cities:** Building, street, neighborhood councils and general assemblies,

in increasing order. These councils are charged with the maintenance of living spaces, communal centers and all of the infrastructure that contributes to the well-being of the population, works of engineering, distribution of consumable goods according to different needs and existences, recreation, ecology, civil defense, cleaning, etc.

**Guerrillas or Militias:** Organization is strictly bottom-up, or periphery to center. Groups of no more than 20 combatants as a basic unit of war and organization. Successively, groups form centuries, centuries form assemblies, assemblies form columns, columns form bodies of the militia army, etc.

Each organizational unit has a spokesperson or delegate respon-

sible for: coordinating action during combat; taking general directives of the base assemblies to the other organizational organisms; preparing along with others the plans to achieve the tactical objectives; responding always to the strategic decisions that the base assemblies determine; coordinating the joint work of supply and logistics; making known the proposals that arise from the base for the better-achieving of objectives; coordinating the tasks of intelligence and information-gathering; making known to comrades the decisions that are made and the course to follow; always maintaining a fluid and free discussion not hindered by authoritarianism. This comrade (or group of comrades) can be removed from his or her function

if circumstances demand the participation of others more able or prepared. Additionally, the assembly can divide functions according to the work to be done, which allows for the formation of logistical assemblies, tactical assemblies, communications assemblies, intelligence, supply, transport, etc.

**Trade Unions or Syndicates:** The councils of technical workers make up special commissions or designate spokespersons who, united in assemblies that group together the representatives of different activities related to a particular branch of production, coordinate and relate the activities of the production units. Trade unions or syndicates create new branches of work and new units of production, estab-

lish and maintain relations between the union and other popular organizations, improve and modify to the necessary degree the techniques and the models of work, ensure the well-being of the workers, etc.

**Other Organizations:** The same model for the free-functioning of any hierarchical governing body, based always on the base councils that guarantee the rights of all individuals to confront opinions in conditions of equality with other individuals. Guaranteed in this way, freedom and true equality of every person before her/his equals, and organized in the same form as a network of mechanisms suited for every action in every context, the sane and efficient functioning of the social organism is assured.★

# To Party or to Politic: Beer Drenched Reflections on the Anarchist Gatherings

BY JOEL, AGITATOR INDEX

**A**S OUR ENTOURAGE OF 15 PEOPLE, two vehicles, and four dogs headed to the local community center in Madison where the August 1993 Midwest Anarchist Gathering was to be held, I wondered what my first anarchist gathering since the 1989 gathering in San Francisco would be like. Would it be a drunkfest, a wannabe Rainbow gathering, a stuffy, armchair debate society, a slam pit, or just a big bore?

Not that I have anything against downing a cheap 40-ouncer with friends and comrades, old and new. I came to have a good time, but I didn't come only to have a good time. I suspect that most folks at Madison were like me in this respect. In fact, this tension between political activism and partying seems to be the defining experience at many North American gatherings. Whether one's trip to Dayton, Philadelphia, or Vancouver was worth it often depended on what you primarily came to do and whether that goal was achieved. The extent to which the organizers can balance this tension successfully is often the extent to which everyone can go home and say, "That was worth it."

Was Madison worth it? Well, as far as organization for the event goes, it could have been better. The event was greatly scaled back from the original plans due to lack of help (the Practical Anarchy crew took on the noble and thankless task of doing all the organizing—cheers to them), which was a bit of a letdown. There were no scheduled workshops, and on Sunday the space was occupied as an ad hoc church, so we had to meet outside. However, in the end these matters were not a big deal. Several hastily-organized workshops were set up and the weather

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ANARCHISM AND

between participating in the various counter cultures that are open to anarchism (punk, disco, hippie, etc.) and our desire to go beyond these countercultures and build a large, powerful, non-hierarchical revolutionary movement.

The tension between isolated counter cultures and building a cross-cultural political movement is one of the key problems we face in building a revolutionary anarchist movement. Another huge problem is infusing a genuine feminist perspective in our movement. By "genuine feminist perspective" I mean two things: that gender roles come to play no part in determining who participates in political debates and actions, and that inequitable social relations based on gender and sexuality are continually challenged in a democratic fashion. Two workshops in Madison pointed out to me that these problems, while certainly taken seriously by many people, still exist at a powerful level.

These two workshops happened on Sunday afternoon. One was devoted to a "node" proposal brought up by the good folks from the Baklava Collective in Chicago. This workshop was intended to build a stronger anarchist movement by facilitating better communication between cities through email and other means. The second workshop was an herbal workshop, in which people shared knowledge and experience in using herbs.

These two workshops epitomized two huge tensions in the anarchist community. The first tension is the predictable revolutionary-versus-lifestyle anarchist tension. To put it crudely, lifestyleists want to build a new society by carving out an autonomous space within the present system and hoping to create a "threat by example," while revolutionary anarchists are working for a revolutionary movement that can bring the disparate revolutionary groups in this society into an anti-authoritarian democratic coalition (or coalitions) that can challenge and overthrow the present power structure, replacing it with anti-authoritarian, voluntary, participatory-democratic forms of organization.

Of course, the two tendencies overlap frequently, but there is a definite difference between them in terms of strategy, politics, and even culture. Unfortunately, both ten-

ists" need to recognize the limits of their approach.

## THE REVOLUTION IS NOT A DRINKING PARTY

Unfortunately or not, revolutionary movements are not constructed at anarchist gatherings. You may gain a few new contacts, meet a pen pal, share a beer with an old friend, garner comradeship feelings of mutual aid by helping to cook and clean the kitchen, and talk politics in a much larger setting than you're used to at home, but that's about it. I'm not belittling these accomplishments at all, but I am saying that anarchist gatherings can't do a whole lot more.

If we want to create a diverse, anti-authoritarian, revolutionary political movement, then gatherings are a dead end. Revolutions don't begin at anarchist gatherings. If you harbor any such hopes, you will be greatly disappointed, not only with anarchist gatherings but with the anarchist movement as a whole. Revolutionary work has to be done with people from outside our countercultures. Our energies need to



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## ANARCHISM AND COUNTERCULTURE

Alternative culture is both the strength and weakness of anarchism. It provides access to anarchist ideas and organizations to disenchanted youth, but it also tends to reflect and reinforce the race, class, and gender limitations of anarchism as a revolutionary force. Madison was no exception to this. The people who attended the gathering were largely white (but not all) and largely under 30 (the contingents from Anarchy magazine, Some Chicago Anarchists, and the IWW were the main exceptions). The two counter cultures most represented were punk, hippie, and various hybrids between the two.

As I participated in the gathering, I often thought to myself, "How welcome would a white miner, a Chicana clerical worker, a Black Nationalist, or a migrant worker feel here?" The answer, of course, is applicable to the anarchist movement in general: "Probably not very." I bring this up not to inflict liberal "white guilt" upon white, middle class anarchists, but to demonstrate

that these problems, while certainly taken seriously by many people, still exist at a powerful level.

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Of course, the two tendencies overlap frequently, but there is a definite difference between them in terms of strategy, politics, and even culture. Unfortunately, both tendencies still must struggle to overcome the race and class limitations of anarchism I described above.

However, the most disturbing tension I recognized between these two workshops was the gender split. The herbal workshop was about sixty percent women (out of about 40 people), but out of 25 participants in the "node" workshop, only one was a woman. Why such a drastic gender split? I reject any notion that women aren't as interested in or as capable of participating in organizational strategy because the multiple histories of feminism and women in resistance movements (including anarchism) show this simply isn't the case. Instead, I suspect it's based on the traditional masculinist dominance of most left and anti-authoritarian movements and the inability of the anarchist movement to present an alternative to this sexist picture.

This gender imbalance points to a need to re-evaluate the way we are trying to build a revolutionary anarchist movement, as well as the subculture we've created around it. Perhaps revolutionary anarchists

shouldn't be focusing on building a movement, then gatherings are a dead end. Revolutions don't begin at anarchist gatherings. If you harbor any such hopes, you will be greatly disappointed, not only with anarchist gatherings but with the anarchist movement as a whole. Revolutionary work has to be done with people from outside our countercultures. Our energies need to



be focused on supporting the struggles of oppressed people and working to link these struggles together in a broad-based, grass roots, participatory, anti-authoritarian manner. Political actions such as demonstrations, coalition building, solidarity work, and educational forums are much better sites to build and expand a revolutionary, anti-authoritarian movement in North America. The gatherings are useful places to share our experiences, maintain contacts, talk politics and strategy, and empty

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This gender imbalance points to a need to re-evaluate the way we are trying to build a revolutionary anarchist movement, as well as the subculture we've created around it. Perhaps revolutionary anarchists need to re-evaluate the role of culture in building a movement as much as "lifestyl-



be focused on supporting the struggles of oppressed people and working to link these struggles together in a broad-based, grass roots, participatory, anti-authoritarian manner. Political actions such as demonstrations, coalition building, solidarity work, and educational forums are much better sites to build and expand a revolutionary, anti-authoritarian movement in North America. The gatherings are useful places to share our experiences, maintain contacts, talk politics and strategy, and empty our 40s collectively before we refill them with gasoline. And that's about it. ★

# West Coast Gathering Roundup

BY DAREN

I'M HERE GIVING YA DA SCOOP ABOUT three anarchist gatherings, conferences, etc. that happened along the west coast this summer. Let's start with *|A Desalabrar!*, the Love and Rage Network conference that happened in my home town of San Diego.

This was a rather burly experience for me, since I was one of the organizers running around taking care of loose ends. The main news-making happening was the decision for Love and Rage to go into a more formal organization rather than a loose so-called network. Regardless of the outcome, all the forces both pro & con knew in their hearts that such a thing was long due for the whole @ scene in North America. (Or maybe I'm being too idealistic.)

Another thing of definite mention is the

Immigration Working Group that formed for the International Day of Action on May 9th. I feel it's a step forward for the Love and Rage Federation to work on something with more potential to build a stronger radical/anarchist presence than the more anarchist-identified ghettoization in our activism.

OK, now on to the Holiday in Beirut u.s.a. in Portland, Oregon. First off, this was not meant as a gathering—just a weekend stopover from San Diego and Vancouver—so nothing was intended other than a hangout of sorts. And that's exactly what happened until the punk show on Sunday, when general chaos, mistrust, anger, and near factionalism occurred.

A group of punks or crusties marched down to a park not too far off to confront and possibly beat up some nazi skinheads

that they had heard were there. This was fuck-up number one since no one knew for sure that there was even anyone there.

Well, there were no nazis to be found, and all the punks marched back to the show, and lo and behold, the police were following them back! The cops geared up in their riot gear, and a stand-off ensued for about an hour. After an hour everyone decided to have a peaceful demonstration through downtown. What happened next was basically one person, one rock, total chaos and panic on the part of the participants. Despite the efforts of some people to keep things together, the brief "mini-riot" (as coined by the local press) left a lot of bad feelings—mainly anti-crustie-ism.

The riot resulted in a few locals being

(Continued to next page)

# Gatherings as Regional Organizing

BY CALE, PHILADELPHIA TROUBLEMAKERS AND ANARCHISTS

**W**HY HOST A GATHERING? WHY invite hundreds of people to come hang out in your town? Why spend close to a year planning to be able to properly pull it off? Why risk alienating people in your community with the inevitable assholes who accompany anything with the word "anarchist" attached to it? Why risk putting yourself in debt while losing your sanity? Because it's worth it.

A small group of Philadelphia anarchotypes decided to host a gathering of between 500 and 1000 people, all from the same general area. We wanted this gathering to help facilitate progress towards anarchist organizing on a local, regional, and to a far lesser degree, a continental scale.

Many of the Mid-Atlantic Anarchist Gathering's (MAAG) organizers had attended at least one of the previous continental gatherings and there was a general consensus that those events were a lot of fun, but that not much effective organizing went on. Others of us had been to smaller regional gatherings and felt that many more lasting contacts were made. That's why, when Philly's anarchist community started talking about a gathering, we immediately decided against a continental or even East Coast-scale event.

Our decision was motivated by more than a simple desire to limit the size of the anarchist hordes who we would need to house, feed, entertain, etc. It also came from a desire for genuine anarchist organizing or "networking," which means people with similar interests, projects, goals, or issues meeting for informal discussions and sharing of information and resources.

Anarchist organizing is still in its infancy in the US. It is necessary to build strong local communities, capable of sustaining local activism, education, and outreach prior to turning outward to build the structures necessary for continental organizing (and the revolution...). It seems more important for people in Philly to make strong connections with people in NYC, Baltimore, DC,

on workshops were a new practical addition to the usual gathering fare. We also left time for socializing. We firmly believe organizing can be accomplished in a power-meeting or hanging out on the front porch with a couple of beers. Overall, the gathering was a success—well-organized, well-attended (about 600 people)—even though it was far from perfect.

Looking back there are definitely things we would have done differently. We should have done more outreach in the Philadelphia area. More time needed to be set aside for feedback during the gathering and for discussing problems and issues raised in workshops, etc. Although this gathering didn't have the level of racism,

sexism, homophobia and other problems of previous continental gatherings, which had some of us at the point of quitting anarchism forever, we didn't have a forum to deal with these important concerns. We also needed a more effective way of dealing with the drunk "Fuck shit up" element who only wanted to "take," and who took up far too much of our time.

A few amazing things came out of the Philly gathering. Many rural or suburban anarchists, lots from Baltimore, were able to use the gathering to break their isolation and meet other people with similar ideas for the first time. Since the gathering, folks in Baltimore have been trying to create a stronger scene, including talk of setting up an an-

archist community center (to be called The Black Planet).

The second edition of Lorenzo Ervin's long out-of-print pamphlet, *Anarchism and the Black Revolution*, was another happy by-product of regional co-operation. People from Chattanooga, Philly, Paterson, and Love & Rage all got together to put out a spiffy pamphlet for next to nothing that was done in time to accompany Lorenzo's speaking tour.

AAA-WEB, the new anarcho-computer organizing network, dreamed up by the Wind Chill Factor folks in Chicago, was brought into existence by an impromptu meeting during the gathering.

These examples would be enough to qualify the Philly gathering as a worthwhile event, but there were hundreds of smaller, no less important, contacts and friends made as well. That's why we'd do it again and hope that it happens next year. We

## Black Flags, White Faces in Philly

BY BARBARA LEE

**A**NARCHISTS FROM ALL OVER THE eastern seaboard converged on Philadelphia to attend the 1993 Mid-Atlantic Anarchist Gathering. From July 30 through August 2, anarchists met to exchange ideas, information and fashion tips. For this reporter, the most inspiring sights were young punk women wearing black tights with shorts, in spite of the fierce Philadelphia summer heat.

I came to the Anarchist gathering to learn about anarchy from a source other than New York City's Lower East Side squatting scene. I should have stayed on the Lower East Side.

The workshops were held at the Friends Select School in Center City. It seemed like millions of crusty punks and preppy radicals had descended for the gathering. Yet, for all of the people there, I felt lonely and isolated. The number of people of color that attended the gathering couldn't halfway fill up one small room.

I wondered, "Is the anarchist movement primarily for young white adults? Is there a place for an older black woman and other

the workshop regressed into a dialogue presuming that Blacks don't mind being called niggers, since some blacks call each other nigger all the time. Supposedly, such usage defused the derogatory meaning of nigger. I sat in my chair in a momentary state of shock. I then proceeded to set everybody straight by explaining that no self-respecting black would call themselves nigger.

How can people who know about the Maknovist revolution not know anything about the Black Liberation Movement? The attitude of some people made me feel that I would be accepted only if I was assimilated into white radical culture and not bring up the fact that I'm different.

Not everybody had racist tendencies. The Philly anarchists went out of their way to provide an eclectic group of speakers. Black members of the Philly-based housing group Up and Out of Poverty Network held a discussion on the housing crisis and solutions after viewing "TAKE OVER: The struggle for housing."

The Philadelphian anarchists showed intelligence and common-sense in the way

women dancers said that they really didn't know any women who abused drugs and if they did, they probably had the addiction before they started dancing. It has been my personal experience that some women start using drugs after they're dancing in order to numb the stress of being treated like a slab of beef by the ignorant, horny male customers.

The Lower East Side Squatters had the most heavily attended event, aside from the sumptuous, free vegetarian lunch. They put together a really great slide show about squatting on the Lower East Side. During the presentation, various LES squatters talked about their experiences in the New York squatter movement.

Not all of the events were held at Friends Select School. @-Space (in West Philly) was the center for information, coffee, books, and movies. The Philly anarchists held punk shows around the area and the skinheads had a ska show downtown.

The Philly Anarchists and Squatters did a super job of housing people over the weekend, supplying wonderful vegetarian

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Anarchist organizing is still in its infancy in the US. It is necessary to build strong local communities, capable of sustaining local activism, education, and outreach prior to turning outward to build the structures necessary for continental organizing (and the revolution...). It seems more important for people in Philly to make strong connections with people in NYC, Baltimore, DC, and all the places in between than to be spending time and energy making networks with people in California (not that we don't care about California). After the gathering there still isn't enough communication for my taste but there's a whole hell of a lot more than before.

As for the gathering, we wanted to have a good mixture of lectures, discussions, hands-on workshops, videos, and social events. The electrical and plumbing hands-

set aside for feedback during the gathering and for discussing problems and issues raised in workshops, etc. Although this gathering didn't have the level of racism,

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I came to the Anarchist gathering to learn about anarchy from a source other than New York City's Lower East Side squatting scene. I should have stayed on the Lower East Side.

The workshops were held at the Friends Select School in Center City. It seemed like millions of crusty punks and preppy radicals had descended for the gathering. Yet, for all of the people there, I felt lonely and isolated. The number of people of color that attended the gathering couldn't halfway fill up one small room.

I wondered, "Is the anarchist movement primarily for young white adults? Is there a place for an older black woman and other people of color in the movement?" I was disturbed by what seemed to be an overabundance of selective ignorance on the part of some of the white anarchists I encountered. At a workshop called ANARCHY 101, I asked why the anarchist movement isn't more racially balanced.

Some people debated that MOVE and the Black Panther Party are anarchist. Some retorted, "Well, why aren't they here?" No answer was given. Somehow

the workshop regressed into a dialogue presuming that Blacks don't mind being called niggers, since some blacks call each other nigger all the time. Supposedly, such usage defused the derogatory meaning of nigger. I sat in my chair in a momentary state of shock. I then proceeded to set everybody straight by explaining that no self-respecting black would call themselves nigger.

How can people who know about the Maknovist revolution not know anything about the Black Liberation Movement? The attitude of some people made me feel that I would be accepted only if I was assimilated into white radical culture and not bring up the fact that I'm different.

Not everybody had racist tendencies. The Philly anarchists went out of their way to provide an eclectic group of speakers. Black members of the Philly-based housing group Up and Out of Poverty Network held a discussion on the housing crisis and solutions after viewing "TAKE OVER: The struggle for housing."

The Philadelphian anarchists showed intelligence and common-sense in the way they planned the Anarchist Gathering workshops, having members of the progressive black community at the gathering. It showed that we all have common goals and that isolation in one's political or racial group is not productive to reaching those common goals.

At a workshop called "Bi and Lesbian Anarchists in the Sex Industry," I experienced a reluctance on the part of some of the women to be honest about the use of drugs within the industry. Some of the

women dancers said that they really didn't know any women who abused drugs and if they did, they probably had the addiction before they started dancing. It has been my personal experience that some women start using drugs after they're dancing in order to numb the stress of being treated like a slab of beef by the ignorant, horny male customers.

The Lower East Side Squatters had the most heavily attended event, aside from the sumptuous, free vegetarian lunch. They put together a really great slide show about squatting on the Lower East Side. During the presentation, various LES squatters talked about their experiences in the New York squatter movement.

Not all of the events were held at Friends Select School. @-Space (in West Philly) was the center for information, coffee, books, and movies. The Philly anarchists held punk shows around the area and the skinheads had a ska show downtown.

The Philly Anarchists and Squatters did a super job of housing people over the weekend, supplying wonderful vegetarian lunches at the workshops and having great entertainment after them.

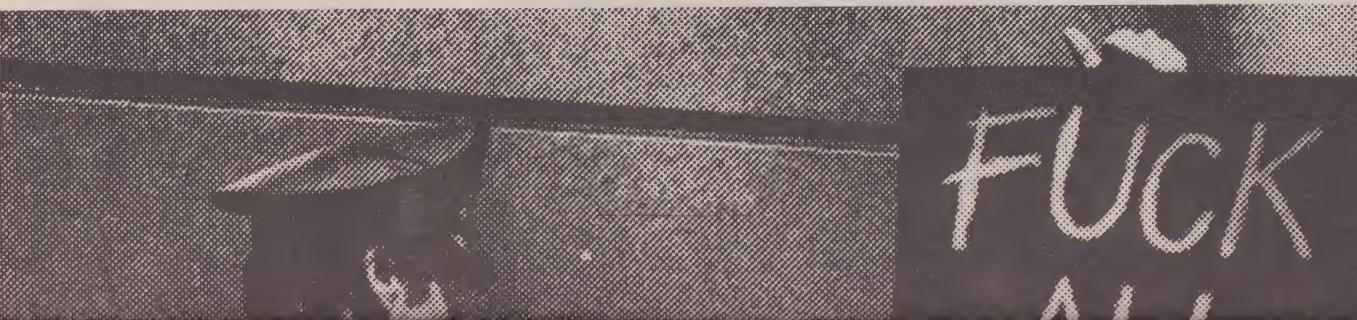
Outside of my personal views about racism in the anarchist movement, it was a well organized gathering. I'm hoping people went away from Philadelphia with a lot to think about and hopefully positive change will occur from within the movement.★

## West Coast

(Continued from previous page )

arrested and held responsible for what happened. I think two of them are still facing federal charges.

After this relatively bad experience was the Frenzy Gathering in Vancouver, B.C., which was rather typical and mellow: a lot of workshops, networking, and such. One of the more interesting workshops was Anarchy 101. A lot of people asked some



and all the places in between than to be spending time and energy making networks with people in California (not that we don't care about California). After the gathering there still isn't enough communication for my taste but there's a whole hell of a lot more than before.

As for the gathering, we wanted to have a good mixture of lectures, discussions, hands-on workshops, videos, and social events. The electrical and plumbing hands-

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After this relatively bad experience was the Frenzy Gathering in Vancouver, B.C., which was rather typical and mellow: a lot of workshops, networking, and such. One of the more interesting workshops was Anarchy 101. A lot of people asked some serious questions about the movement that they were a part of, such as: what about having a focus for next summer's gatherings so it's not just a big party; how are we as a movement going to create coalitions now that we are starting to become more visible in the activist scene nationwide?

With the Frenzy & Prisoner Justice Day gone, I hitchhiked back home, stopping in the Bay Area with perfect timing for the start of the repression of Food Not Bombs and the I.W.W. General Assembly. It was interesting to be in a room of real live Wobblies, some of whom were fighting real live bosses. What I saw was a surprising display of infighting & insults between people over red cards (membership books), who had them and should people be allowed to speak without them. (I shit you not, that really happened.)

The main thing I saw was a generation gap between the new Wobs (who are, as far as I can see, responsible for getting the union back to where it should be), in contrast to the gray-beards, who were more focused on education and memorial of days gone by.

Well that's what I saw on my West Coast summer tour. I hope this article will give you something to chew on for a while!★

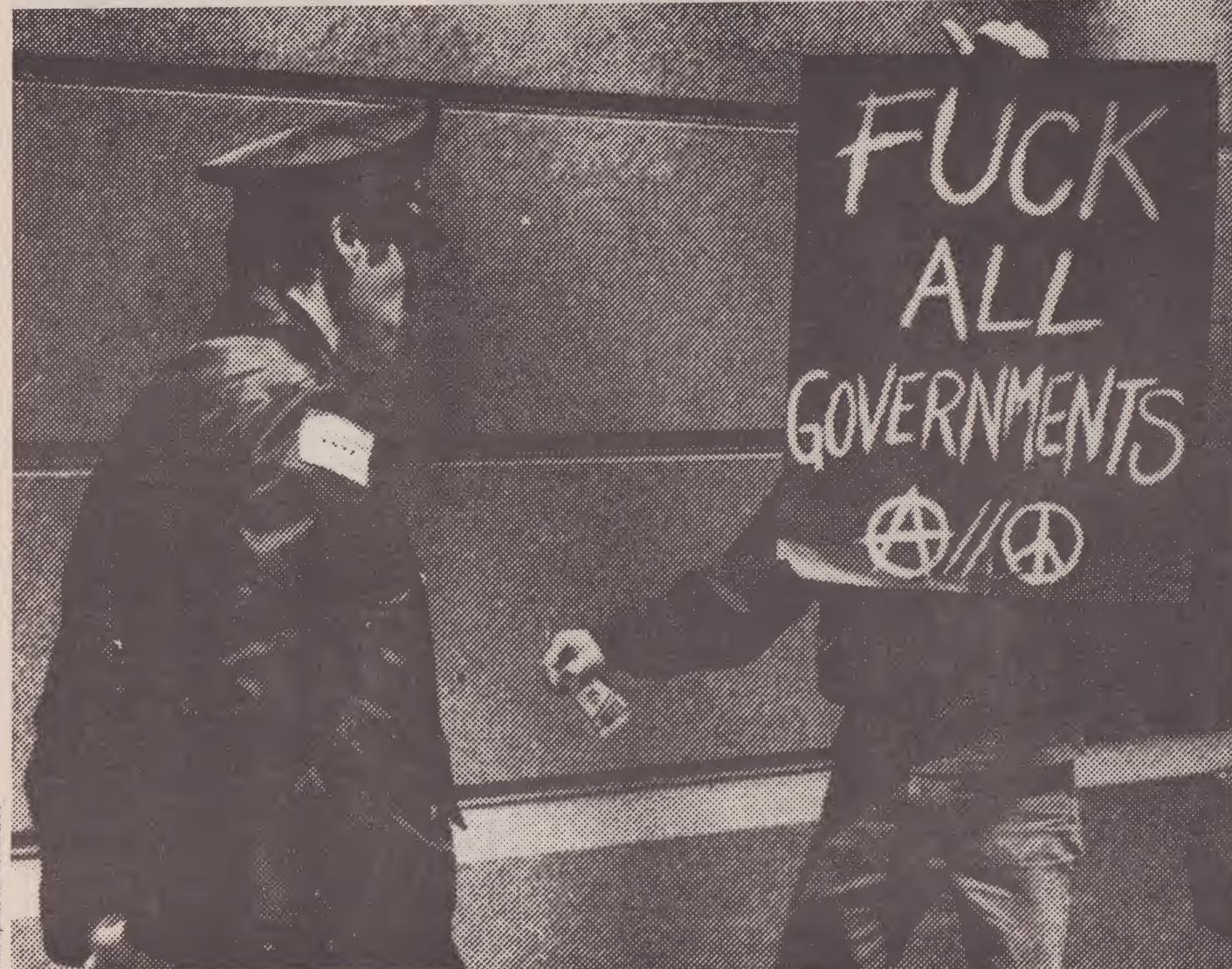


Photo reprinted from the Fifth Estate



## interview

*[Jeeti Kei is a founding member of Roots of Resistance, a radical direct-action and cultural group for people of color in Vancouver. He has been a squatter on Vancouver's Francis Street and participated in radical politics within Vancouver's anarchist scene for several years. He was interviewed by Love and Rage on Nov 14, 1993]*

**Could you talk about how you first became political?**

**Jeeti Kei:** Like a lot of people associated with the anarchist scene, punk rock was the thing. At that point I heard through a friend that there were these houses in a row on Francis Street that could be squatted so on the spur of the moment I decided to move in there. Those squats would last about nine months. They got national attention. There were six single-family houses with 35-40 of us living there at its peak. We basically had control of half a city block.

At that time there was the Mohawk uprising. On the fifth day after the Mohawk barricades went up, when the cop got shot they said they might send the army in. The urgency of that changed how we and how a lot of people in Canada felt about politics. Their actions spoke, in some part, to the desires and the needs of three per cent of the population of Canada, which is the native section, because there were solidarity blockades and solidarity actions spread throughout the country and hydroelectric towers were toppled and bridges got blown up and logging roads were blockaded, not just in support of the Mohawks but for their own sovereignty demands.

**How did squatting on Francis Street affect you?**

**Jeeti Kei:** You're fighting for your home. There were these intense splits over whether to put up barricades or not. I lived in a house without natural light for two months. I lived in a bunker for two months, a house that was all barricaded up. In the end they crushed it.

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On the Tuesday morning we woke up and people had seen snipers on the roofs on the opposite side of the street. People went to check things out and they saw that there were SWAT teams with their camouflage gear, their bulletproof vests and their masks on. For the first half hour people were very afraid. It was kind of embarrassing, we had made this stand. At the first sign of actual police people were on the barricades shouting "we're not armed."

There was one house that was very well barricaded throughout the whole house. So we decided that there would be a group of four people who would go in that house, we had a certain number of gas masks, and the rest of the people would go and wait at the barricades.

Finally they moved in and got those of us on the outside barricades after six hours or so. The next hour they started smashing the house, they took off the front section. There was big public backlash against the police from a lot of different sectors including major trade unions condemning the police action.

**After Francis Street what happened?**

**Jeet Kei:** After a few months the Gulf War



## Organizing Youth of Color in Vancouver

### An Interview with Jeet Kei of Roots of Resistance

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#### After Francis Street what happened?

**Jeet Kei:** After a few months the Gulf War started. There were some big demonstrations. There were some fairly rowdy demonstrations. But what was different from the Mohawks was the feeling that people could affect it. I noticed after three weeks nobody I knew was watching the news anymore. Everybody went into this sort of state. There were two squatters from Berlin who had been in the squats who invited me to Berlin. I left in mid-February for Berlin. I lived for 11 months in Europe, nine of them in Berlin. Six of those months in a squat in East Berlin. That in fact is where I picked up my race consciousness. At the time I moved to East Berlin fascists were pulling Vietnamese people off the subway and hitting them with axes and I felt that it was dangerous for me because of my race. This was my first experience, not with racism, but with this feeling.

#### What did you do?

**Jeet Kei:** I searched out other isolated individuals who were connected with the scene and they had the same kind of expe-

## interview

rience that I did and that gave me the feeling that a large part of the problem was this 99% white, not just white but 99% German scene that doesn't know how to deal with people who come from a different background. I was there during the first big upsurge of fascist attacks which was Hoyerswerda which was three nights in a row of attacks on a hostel that set off a huge wave of firebombing attacks. There was a national demo in Hoyerswerda. We started an Asian antifascist group. I went to organizing meetings and there would be 400 people, autonomen, and there would be five or six people of colour and I tried to organize a people of color bloc. In the end we were like 20-25 people, but it was so much energy. Doing a colour bloc is like saying "hey we're targets," it clearly identified us. A lot of people were afraid. People who don't have a very stable legal status, it's harder for them to take that kind of risk, although in the end some of them did take that risk. It was all this work to get 25 people to this demo.

I came back to Vancouver, got together with four friends from the anarchist squatter scene. We said, we really need a group of people of colour here in Vancouver to stir shit up on the streets. We were one Punjabi Sikh, one 3/4 Punjabi 1/4 African American, one 1/2 Chinese 1/2 German, and me, full-blooded Chinese. We set a meeting time, May 13. Conveniently, four days after we set the date, the L.A. Rebellion happened. So we did some demos and we connected up with a lot of people of colour, mostly Black people, but people of colour in general through these demonstrations. We had our first meeting with about 40 people. All by word of mouth, we never put up any posters or anything. It was mostly Black and South Asian people, a mix of students and people doing cultural work. So that's how Roots of Resistance started.

### What does it mean for you to identify politically as a person of color?

**Jeet Kei:** In Canada there are many more people living in the same neighbourhood and going to the same schools and kind of getting along, maybe, which there is less of in the US. It makes the possibilities of those

"Power to the People," which I identify with the Panthers, they laughed, they said it sarcastically. Because of the nature of their society they are always going to be a marginal group. I think that has been a big part of it, that we can do these radical politics that my parents can understand and at a certain level support. And I think that is one aspect of dropping this external identification as an anarchist.

### Can you talk some about destroying the concept of Canada and what are the prospects for that?

**Jeet Kei:** I find it a really big contradiction that your average "Canadian" refuses responsibility for genocide, whether cultural or physical. If you want to be Canadian you have to take on responsibility for this colonial process. I think the understanding of Native sovereignty is important for immigrant peoples of colour, because our grandparents or parents come and accept that this is a white nation. It is that acceptance that leads to assimilation. And so we have to say to people of colour: are you Canadian, what does it mean to be a Canadian? That is not your history, you did not participate in that colonial process.

When we want to break down the construction of Whiteness, and I think that is something probably Love and Rage is into...looking at how Whiteness was constructed. We're brought up thinking Whiteness is...a natural category. When I was in Germany, I thought people were white, and then I realized, actually, they're Germans, they're not white and they see all these distinctions between themselves and other European peoples.

In Canada, gradually, different European peoples were assimilated into this concept of Whiteness, which has culturally nothing to it, because it is purely born out of the colonial process. The most recent manifestation of Whiteness since the '50s is this consumeristic individual, not really attached to anything. So it has been molded by the needs of capital much more directly than any other part of the world where there is perhaps a deeper cultural basis.

Multiculturalism is still read as basically this benevolent thing and not as a system

land, which is the third world, which is different struggles happening there, which is our roots.

I think race is very fascinating in North America because what you have is this inverted mirror of world neo-colonialism within, in particular, these two countries. You look at the people of colour in Montréal and who are they: They're Haitian, they're Lebanese, they're Moroccan, none of whom are in Vancouver, there is almost zero populations of those in Vancouver, and they're all from ex-French speaking colonies. You look at Europe and all the fascist stuff happening there, a lot of it is ex-colonial peoples going back to their former colonial powers, whether that is in England with people from the Caribbean or from India, or in France with the Algerians and the Moroccans. It's bringing colonial struggles, colonial conflicts into the belly of the beast.

### Talk about some of the cultural work that Roots does. I mean, generally, what does Roots do?

**Jeet Kei:** We have musical events and a disproportionate amount of performers within the group. Hip hop has a very different nature in Vancouver than in other places in North America. There's not such a large Black population and, in fact, they're mostly Caribbean. You've got Native hip hop posses, you've got Asian hip hop posses, along with Black and Latino. Culturally, it's this non-white alternative. It's also important to recognize limitations within hip hop, and how far that identity can go.

### Do other people in Roots come from political backgrounds?

**Jeet Kei:** Yeah, when it first began it was like three cliques, it was the anarchist clique, a clique of third world Marxists, Fanon and all that, theory basically of Marxists although they didn't call themselves that, coming out of anti-colonial struggles, and there was a large Black women's clique. But there haven't been big ideological arguments of Marxism versus anarchism, and partly it has to do with the irrelevancy that those kinds of discussions have at this juncture in history. We're at a very basic level. Right now we are simply

time you have the concept of Canada and the Canadian national identity not very well established for different reasons. One is that it is very recently colonized. Two is that it is very heterogeneous. Three is that Québec, even though it is a competing colonizing nation, there has always been this tension throughout its whole history of whether Canada is this valid concept, because of Québec. This has other ramifications for the legitimacy of Canada as a whole. Especially since 1990, the Native sovereignty claims which were exemplified in the Mohawk crisis and what it could mean for Canada, there was some fairly broad support on some level on the basic righteousness of the Mohawk stand. Right now Canada is struggling to find the neo-colonial solution to native-sovereignty claims: semi-autonomous government, besides the usual money bargains.

### How do the elections affect the viability of the concept of Canada?

**Jeet Kei:** The general left reaction has been horror to the elections. Traditionally, the social democrats have gotten 15-25% of the popular vote and have been in the position of being a strong third party and it's sort of seen as a social conscience of the other two parties. And they basically disappeared from political life. They went down to 8 seats out of 298, and this was after they got recently three provincial governments. And then, at the same time, who's replaced them as third party, only two seats behind the second party, is the Reform Party that is very right wing, reactionary, to the Right of the conservatives. Yet at the same time if you look at the elections and its meaning, with the conservatives and the social democrats disappearing from political life, you see that the liberals have won, but in a sense, they are the only party that still retains this idea of Canada, as this coherent nation-state. The second party is the Bloc Québécois, which only got seats in Québec, which is basically an electoral transition to a separate Québec state. And then you have the Reform Party, which only got seats in the Western Provinces, which is a reaction against Québec and a reaction against power being centralized in Ontario, and so in a sense,

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#### What does it mean for you to identify politically as a person of color?

**Jeet Kei:** In Canada there are many more people living in the same neighbourhood and going to the same schools and kind of getting along, maybe, which there is less of in the US. It makes the possibilities of those kind of cross-colour connections more realistic and make more sense. I think that because assimilation has been since 1970 the basic weapon of choice for maintaining social control in Canada, the construction of the identity of people of colour, for people who have lost their language, or parts of their culture or they've been away from their culture for a long time, this new identity as a person of colour fills what they might otherwise have identified purely as Chinese or purely as Punjabi. So in a sense, we are semi-self-consciously constructing a new identity of what it means to be a person of colour. The term "person of colour" has meaning only in reference to colonialism. Colonialism as a process that is still going on today. Colonialism creates the possibilities for those kinds of unities that were never there before, because we come from different cultural backgrounds and different histories; colonialism wipes out those differences. Colonialism gives us a common language. Colonialism gives us a common enemy, or a common structure to organize against. Colonialism also creates unity among the European peoples where there never was before, and it creates these two blocks of white and brown, north and south. I think that we really don't have that kind of racial unification that might

this is a white nation. It is that acceptance that leads to assimilation. And so we have to say to people of colour: are you Canadian, what does it mean to be a Canadian? That is not your history, you did not participate in that colonial process.

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Multiculturalism is still read as basically this benevolent thing and not as a system of race management. Starting in 1970, they set up an internally neo-colonial structure, they set up certain community leaders who could speak for their community to represent certain peoples, so that they could negotiate through these people who would be much more...pliant. That created a whole class of opportunistic race-careerists to fill those positions. A lot of the community groups are dominated by these people.

When I speak of people of colour, I know that I'm talking about a particular small slice of people of colour which is younger people who have gone through that neo-colonial process of assimilation. Your politics are determined by your location in the society, that determines your language, how you are going to say what you are going to say. Content does not just exist on its own. It's who you have access to and how you say what you're going to say so that that person can appreciate it. I think we're just being true to where our location is. But, that doesn't mean we need to be disconnected. When the stuff was happening last year against bill C-86...

#### What is Bill C-86?

**Jeet Kei:** This is legislation revising immi-

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does Roots do?

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#### How has the white left responded to Roots?

**Jeet Kei:** In the beginning there was all

sorts of infighting and the white left was sort of seen as a social conscience of the other two parties. And they basically disappeared from political life. They went down to 8 seats out of 298, and this was after they got recently three provincial governments. And then, at the same time, who's replaced them as third party, only two seats behind the second party, is the Reform Party that is very right wing, reactionary, to the Right of the conservatives. Yet at the same time if you look at the elections and its meaning, with the conservatives and the social democrats disappearing from political life, you see that the liberals have won, but in a sense, they are the only party that still retains this idea of Canada, as this coherent nation-state. The second party is the Bloc Québécois, which only got seats in Québec, which is basically an electoral transition to a separate Québec state. And then you have the Reform Party, which only got seats in the Western Provinces, which is a reaction against Québec and a reaction against power being centralized in Ontario, and so in a sense, there is almost completely regional voting. The elections will change the way we talk about politics. Instead of talking about these three ideological positions: conservative, liberal, social-democrat, we'll talk about it in much more regional ways and we'll talk about different issues. The popularity of the Reform Party makes it much easier for us to talk about white supremacy as white supremacy and not just problems with racism that we're going to have to overcome.

#### What do you see as the prospects of politics like that of Roots taking root in other parts of Canada?

**Jeet Kei:** I've thought about this, and I think because the race dynamics are so different, I think the basic race dynamics are the same, but because of the actual content of the dominant races of dominant peoples of colour involved that it will manifest itself very differently in Toronto and Montréal in particular. I don't see it as much happening in cities where there's not a big colour population and I see that maybe it'll take a while to develop or maybe it'll offshoot there but in a smaller, more marginal way.

To repeat the point, Vancouver is mainly

in the US. It makes the possibilities of those kind of cross-colour connections more realistic and make more sense. I think that because assimilation has been since 1970 the basic weapon of choice for maintaining social control in Canada, the construction of the identity of people of colour, for people who have lost their language, or parts of their culture or they've been away from their culture for a long time, this new identity as a person of colour fills what they might otherwise have identified purely as Chinese or purely as Punjabi. So in a sense, we are semi-self-consciously constructing a new identity of what it means to be a person of colour. The term "person of colour" has meaning only in reference to colonialism. Colonialism as a process that is still going on today. Colonialism creates the possibilities for those kinds of unities that were never there before, because we come from different cultural backgrounds and different histories; colonialism wipes out those differences. Colonialism gives us a common language. Colonialism gives us a common enemy, or a common structure to organize against. Colonialism also creates unity among the European peoples where there never was before, and it creates these two blocks of white and brown, north and south. I think that we really don't have that kind of racial essentialism that might characterize other kinds of movements, because we realize that in a sense we are purely a construction of a colonial process as opposed to existing independent of that.

#### **What about the difference between the political perspective behind Roots and the anarchist movement?**

**Jeet Kei:** We're responding to a bunch of different things. Because it is dealing with the white situation and a white majority where the mainstream of white history has been white supremacy and identification with the power structure, the anarchist movement is almost always in this position of marginality to its people, to white people. I think what I learned doing the colour stuff, was that there was the possibility of doing radical politics that the majority of our people could understand and support and that we could, in fact, be connected to our people. It makes me think of Germany, where you know this slogan

this benevolent thing and not as a system of race management. Starting in 1970, they set up an internally neo-colonial structure, they set up certain community leaders who could speak for their community to represent certain peoples, so that they could negotiate through these people who would be much more...pliant. That created a whole class of opportunistic race-careerists to fill those positions. A lot of the community groups are dominated by these people. When I speak of people of colour, I know that I'm talking about a particular small slice of people of colour which is younger people who have gone through that neo-colonial process of assimilation. Your politics are determined by your location in the society, that determines your language, how you are going to say what you are going to say. Content does not just exist on its own. It's who you have access to and how you say what you're going to say so that that person can appreciate it. I think we're just being true to where our location is. But, that doesn't mean we need to be disconnected. When the stuff was happening last year against bill C-86...

#### **What is Bill C-86?**

**Jeet Kei:** This is legislation revising immigration and refugee acceptance laws in Canada, basically restricting both. It defined a family that you could bring over as almost completely a nuclear family. Bill C-86 passed January 1, 1993. The Iranians have been very strong in organizing, and right away, deportation orders started coming down, which people fought. There was a hunger strike by a group of Iranian refugees outside of immigration buildings. A lot of communities of colour were organized against this bill but they were mostly the middle and older generation, actual immigrants themselves. Because the young people are brought up here, they take on certain privileges, speaking English as a first language, of being "Canadian," of being assimilated, of being easily controlled. They don't identify any longer even with their parents. So we as younger people try to speak to other younger people and make that connection. When we can connect to the immigrant and refugee generation then we can connect to the place where we come from, which is our home-

very basic level. Right now we are simply trying to find ways to access a broad section of our peoples, to maintain that communication, broaden our base, to have an understanding and dialogue with other generations and other sections. Because assimilation is also a big discussion of the middle generation, cause it's what do we do with our kids? I think once we can get a group of people to come to an understanding of our lives and how our lives are linked by this common neo-colonial experience, then we can start to articulate strategies to deal with that and take on certain campaigns, but right now we're just at a very low level of things. We don't want to get stuck in a political ghetto...the white left will love you to death. They want to do things with you, because it fits so well into their theories of how things should go. And they really want to connect up with you, and you can get sucked into all kinds of important issues and activities, but lose why you were there in the first place and lose that base building and connecting to your people.

#### **How has the white left responded to Roots?**

**Jeet Kei:** In the beginning there was all sorts of defensiveness about the nature of just being people of colour. People I respected and had been around a long time could get these kind of immature, defensive reactions, and they had gone through the same process with separatist feminism. And they couldn't make the fucking intellectual connection, that a similar thing is happening all over again.

My priority is to connect with my people and anything which distracts me from that is just that: a distraction and should be treated as such.

By the end of the decade, Toronto will be 40-50% non-white, Vancouver will be 40% non-white, and that is scaring a lot of white people. And you see its political manifestations in, for example, the recent electoral victories of the Reform Party, who came in 3rd and got 52 out of 297 seats. And in a sense they represent giving back a political voice to latent white supremacy within white Canadian society, so within white supremacy you have two different conflicting tendencies. At the same

centralized in Ontario, and so in a sense, there is almost completely regional voting. The elections will change the way we talk about politics. Instead of talking about these three ideological positions: conservative, liberal, social-democrat, we'll talk about it in much more regional ways and we'll talk about different issues. The popularity of the Reform Party makes it much easier for us to talk about white supremacy as white supremacy and not just problems with racism that we're going to have to overcome.

#### **What do you see as the prospects of politics like that of Roots taking root in other parts of Canada?**

**Jeet Kei:** I've thought about this, and I think because the race dynamics are so different, I think the basic race dynamics are the same, but because of the actual content of the dominant races of dominant peoples of colour involved that it will manifest itself very differently in Toronto and Montréal in particular. I don't see it as much happening in cities where there's not a big colour population and I see that maybe it'll take a while to develop or maybe it'll offshoot there but in a smaller, more marginal way.

To repeat the point, Vancouver is mainly Chinese, Punjabi, and Native; Montréal is Haitian and Lebanese and people from other French-speaking ex-colonies. Toronto has a large Black population. Neither Montréal nor Toronto has much very much of a Native population. Toronto has a lot of the newer and refugee immigrant communities. A few months ago there was a demonstration of about 1,500 Tamils against the killing of a Tamil man and the injury of another by neo-Nazis; there was a demonstration by 1,500 Somalis who are all warehoused in a set of apartment complexes on the outskirts of Toronto, against racism from the management, the security, and the white residents. There was a demonstration of about 600 Phillipinos against the the banning of Phillipino youth from a shopping mall in another suburb. There are all sorts of possibilities in Toronto which aren't there in Vancouver.

#### **Thanks for your time.**

**Jeet Kei:** No problem. ★

# FILLING UP THE TANKS FOR GLOBAL DOMINATION

## A REVIEW OF *MIDNIGHT OIL*

*Midnight Oil: Work, Energy, War 1973-1992*  
1992, Autonomedia.

BY BAZOOKA JOE

**I**N A SERIES OF ARTICLES STRETCHING FROM 1974 to 1990, the *Midnight Notes* Collective and their predecessor, *Zerowork*, develop an autonomous Marxist method of class analysis focusing primarily on the oil industry. What holds *Midnight Oil* together are theories about the role of the debt crisis in the last two decades, the primacy of the petroleum industry to the survival and the reorganization of capital in this period and the revolt of the international working class against work.

### THE SLICK AND DIRTY BUSINESS OF OIL

Central to *Midnight Oil*'s explanation of global economics in the post-WWII era is the idea that the story of the use and trading of oil has become "very nearly the story of capitalism." As an energy source that runs factories, is burned in cars, and is an essential component of production, oil is a replacement for labor. And as a commodity, oil plays a key role in determining global levels of prices, wages, and profits. So any factor that affects the production or transport of energy, such as workers, the governments of oil producing countries, etc., must be tightly controlled by oil companies, advanced capitalist governments and the vampire lending institutions that do their work; the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

### THE MIDEAST OIL PROLETARIAT AND THE GULF WAR

The work involved in the pumping and production of oil in the Persian Gulf region is done primarily by workers from outside the immediate region under brutal, toxic and often fatal conditions. These seven to eight million workers, coming mostly from the Asian countries of Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, the Philippines and Sri Lanka, as well as from Mexico, Central America and the United States, are

regime. By engaging in wholesale slaughter of these soldiers during their retreat and choosing to decimate the civilian population instead of the military infrastructure, the US killed off much of the most volatile elements of the working class, subdued the Iraqi people as a whole, and left the Ba'thist police state in power to begin to implement the austerity program.

As Iraq became a potential model for future IMF austerity enforcement, *Midnight Oil* argues, it also had direct results on the region as a whole. The war was used as a pretext for the expulsion of Palestinians from Kuwait and Yemenis from Saudi Arabia because of the egalitarian anti-imperialist politics generally held by both of these peoples and the threat that they posed on that basis.

### THE NEW ENCLOSURES

The debt crisis, then, is described as an assault by capitalism on the international working class as part of what *Midnight Notes* call "the new enclosures." Reworking Marx's notion of the original enclosures, whereby feudal land was privatized and peasants were forced into urban industrial settings, the new enclosures are a similar process on a global scale. This is a process that takes place in communist or formerly communist nations (in China, where one hundred million people have been displaced from communally operated lands by the free market), the so-called Third World (as in Africa, where communal village life is being destroyed by famine, war and World Bank schemes) and in the advanced capitalist nations (such as the US where a farm crisis and a massive homeless crisis have displaced millions).

The new enclosures process has occurred because the post-WWII social contract with workers blew up in capital's face. As *Midnight Notes* put it, "From the Watts riot to the 'Prague Spring' to Italy's 'hot autumn' to the last helicopter escaping from the fall of Saigon, the profit picture internationally turned sour and capital was facing euthanasia. Consequently, all deals were off and capital went on the attack everywhere."

People forced from formerly communal or state-owned land, or forced to flee economic conditions or the horrors of war and set adrift to migrate to centers of capital, have created the greatest waves of immigration the planet has ever seen. Through this process, it is hoped, new alliances can be created in the struggle against capital. Whether or not *Midnight Oil* is correct that this all represents one vast, closely coordinated scheme by capitalist planners, we should pay attention to the connections between displacement of people on a global scale and what it means for revolutionary possibilities. (This is something we should bear in mind when planning immigration demos this coming May.)

The book discusses a number of examples of resistance to energy industries world-wide, including resistance by oil workers in Nigeria, rebelling auto workers in Detroit, wildcat strikes in the oil fields of the Gulf Coast, and





In 1990, the *Midnight Notes* Collective and their predecessor, Zerowork, develop an autonomous Marxist method of class analysis focusing primarily on the oil industry. What holds *Midnight Oil* together are theories about the role of the debt crisis in the last two decades, the primacy of the petroleum industry to the survival and the reorganization of capital in this period and the revolt of the international working class against work.

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## THE MIDEAST OIL PROLETARIAT AND THE GULF WAR

The work involved in the pumping and production of oil in the Persian Gulf region is done primarily by workers from outside the immediate region under brutal, toxic and often fatal conditions. These seven to eight million workers, coming mostly from the Asian countries of Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, the Philippines and Sri Lanka, as well as from African and Arab countries such as Egypt, Sudan, Syria and Yemen, are forced to live in squalid conditions, enjoy no political rights, and have all of their movements in the region tightly controlled and monitored. They work long hours and are paid almost nothing.

Because these near-slavery conditions can easily provide the ingredients for social explosion and revolt (as successfully happened in Iran), local governments and Western interests must do all they can to prevent upheaval. For them, the goal is to find a balance between paying workers as little as possible and keeping a lid on rebellion.

The capitalists, *Midnight Notes* argues, went on the offensive in the early seventies and eighties to recolonize and privatize land around the world that had been decolonized by various revolutions in this century. With *perestroika* and the subsequent collapse of state socialism, new relationships were created world-wide. Western markets were now squarely back in the driver's seat of world history and needed to fuel the engine. In order to set up the infrastructure for tapping into the oil reserves of the former Soviet Union, China, Venezuela, Vietnam and Mexico—all opened up to Western business in the eighties—there had to be money coming from somewhere. This capital was to come from squeezing debt money out of Third World countries through IMF-sponsored austerity programs and World Bank privatization schemes.

All of this sets up the *Midnight Notes* analysis of the Gulf War. Saddam Hussein, as we know, was the US gov-

ernment of the original enclosures, whereby feudal and tribal lands were privatized and peasants were forced into urban industrial settings, the new enclosures are a similar process on a global scale. This is a process that takes place in communist or formerly communist nations (in China, where one hundred million people have been displaced from communally operated lands by the free market), the so-called Third World (as in Africa, where communal village life is being destroyed by famine, war and World Bank schemes) and in the advanced capitalist nations (such as the US where a farm crisis and a massive homeless crisis have displaced millions).

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The book discusses a number of examples of resistance to energy industries world-wide, including resistance by oil workers in Nigeria, rebelling auto workers in Detroit, wildcat coal strikes in Appalachia, energy price revolts by Italian housewives and the US and Western European anti-nuclear movements. With the exception of an article on the anti-nuke movement, these examples describe the struggles as elements of an international recomposition of the working class as a movement that is demanding less work and more goods from the system.

Unfortunately, in their attempt to expand the notion of working class to include both the employed and unemployed, waged and unwaged, the productive and reproductive sectors, communities as well as factories, *Midnight Oil* ends up reducing all elements of identity and all social relations to class. All expressions of identity, self-determination, community control, etc. are seen as types of class-based struggles. It is as if there are not other forms of domination and hierarchy on the one hand and desires for freedom on the other that function somewhat independently from the global economic system.

While advanced capitalism does rule the planet in ever-more complicated ways, reworkings of Marxist economics are not enough to explain social, cultural and political reality. People cannot be reduced to rationally functioning economic agents, nor can all social phenomena that have economic or political effects be attributed to the self-realized class asserting its own interests or chubby-fingered, cigar-smoking capitalists pulling levers of global economics in theirs. (It is worth noting that for all of their elaborate analyses of the Gulf War, the *Midnight Notes* Collective



Angolan petroleum workers

African and Arab countries such as Egypt, Sudan, Syria and Yemen, are forced to live in squalid conditions, enjoy no political rights, and have all of their movements in the region tightly controlled and monitored. They work long hours and are paid almost nothing.

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All of this sets up the *Midnight Notes* analysis of the Gulf War. Saddam Hussein, as we know, was the US government's point man in the region for combating Khomeini's pan-Shi'a revolution in the Gulf for eight years. However, he began to be a problem to oil interests when he was unable to force his people to accept the terms of an IMF austerity program in the 1980s. As the leader of the region's second biggest oil producer, he was able to maintain control over his people only through Ba'th socialist guns and butter—an authoritarian regime where people lived relatively comfortably through state patronage. But when he tried to force the Iraqi people to keep producing oil wealth and not get some of its benefits, there was a lot of civil unrest. So the Ba'th party, pressured by Western capital and needing to get some capital elsewhere, looks to the wealthy next door neighbor. By invading Kuwait, Iraq could potentially wipe out a \$40-million debt to Kuwait, loot the country and take back some disputed oil reserves.

Because the US had been such a major backer of the Ba'thists, they figured that the US would let them negotiate a way out of the situation, or fight a war with them that would leave the Ba'thists in power. It would, in any case, allow them to discipline the Iraqi people and allow the US to set up bases in areas that would insure that there would be no future workers' uprisings.

The indiscriminate bombing of Iraq, bringing misery, death and disease to the Iraqi people, did very little, as we know, to Ba'th military installations. What's more, conscripts sent by Iraq into Kuwait were largely untrained and mostly Kurds and Shi'a who had little loyalty to the Ba'th

regime. In Nigeria, the oil workers' strike, the coal strikes in Appalachia, energy price revolts by Italian housewives and the US and Western European anti-nuclear movements. With the exception of an article on the anti-nuke movement, these examples describe the struggles as elements of an international recomposition of the working class as a movement that is demanding less work and more goods from the system.

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By their own admission, the *Midnight Notes* Collective sees the struggles for Black liberation, feminism, sexual identification, ecology and other social movements as secondary to class struggle. Their rigid materialism is revealed in their explanation when they remind us that "...we all live on capitalist soil, eat capitalist bread, we expend our body's energy in capitalist work. Everything is a commodity..." We may live in a capitalist world, but we also live in a white-supremacist world, a patriarchal world, a christian-dominated world of repression and sexual unfreedom, a world that is increasingly alienated from nature—in other words, a world based on a history of hierarchy and domination that must confront questions beyond rational economic ones.

On the other hand, anarchists are generally pretty bad at dealing with economics and because it still is a capitalist world of wage relations and misery, we would do well to pay attention to the theorizing of autonomous Marxists. This seems especially true considering the inability of the left to think coherently about not only the Gulf War, but also the occupation of Somalia, the summer of political upheaval in Nigeria and the Arafat-Rabin peace treaty. *Midnight Oil*, an incredibly well-researched and thoughtful book, provides good tools for understanding the economic reality and the oily machinations of capital in the last two decades from a revolutionary perspective, and can do a lot to help us think more clearly about anti-authoritarian strategies in the future.★

# Vanguard

(Continued from page 6)

have no human rights which the white power structure is bound to respect.

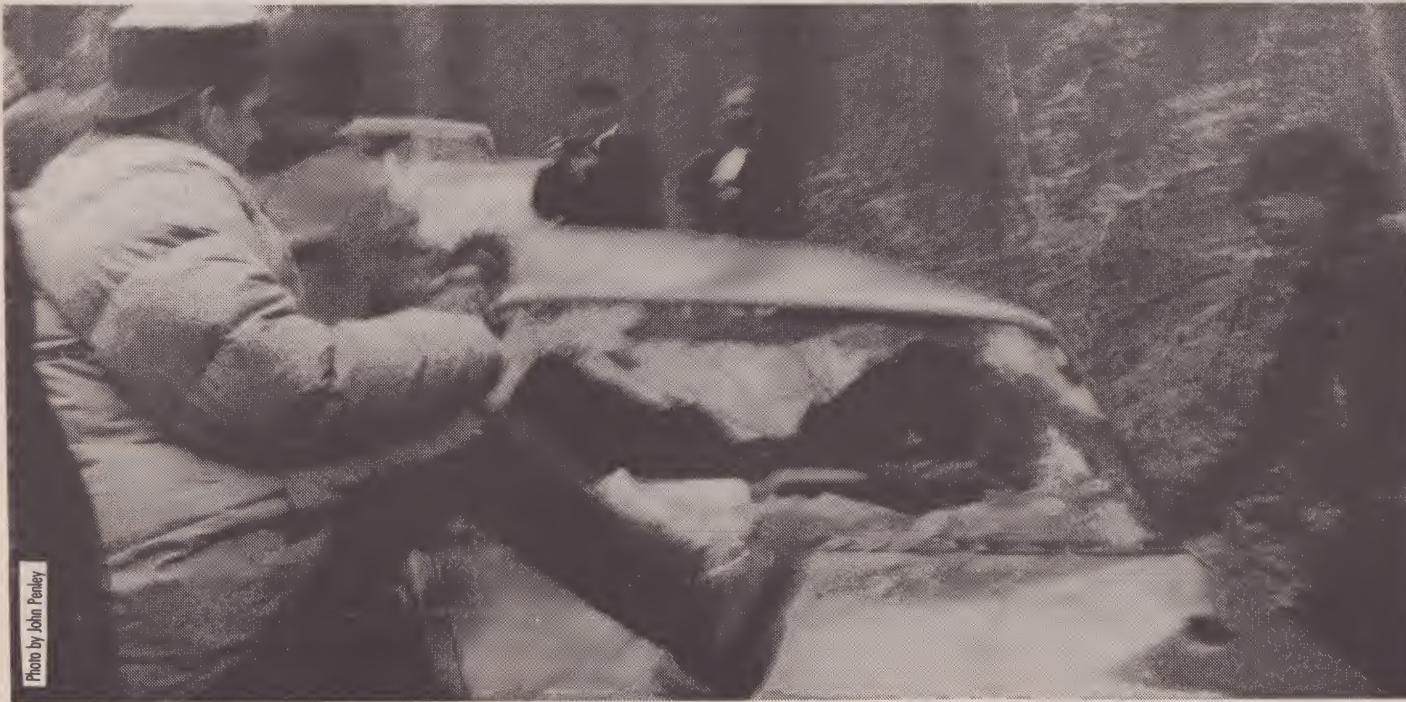
Further, we believe that fascist paramilitary movements cannot be stopped with purely defensive actions like legal counter-demonstrations, but must be crushed by any means necessary, including outright violence upon their persons and the destruction of their infrastructure in the communities they are located. That is one consideration, another is that the fascist ideology must be countered in white working-class communities, but because white radicals do not work in their own communities, the fascists have had a clear field to spread their poisonous propaganda and their simple-minded solutions to the eco-

nomic crisis. This must change, white radicals must not continue to wage an anti-racist resistance where only they decide on strategy and then claim to speak for the racially oppressed. Vanguard fighting vanguard is a bankrupt strategy where one group of white people, the so-called "good whites," fight the "bad whites," who believe in racism. That is why the movement is so weak and confused today.

The fact is that Black and non-white revolutionary activists and communities should be the ones setting the agenda to fight racism in this country, not the radicalized middle-class white sector at all. That only leads to today's arrogant, elitist movement. The task of white radicals is to work with Black revolutionaries to produce a coherent strategy to fight racism and to organize the white working class as our ally. We don't need white radicals "leading" the Black working class to their idea of freedom, we must do that for ourselves.★

The white male-dominated leadership of most of these left-wing movements, however, do not like to listen, they want to command! They believe Blacks and other non-white workers should be quiet and play a token role, while they do all the theorizing and the fighting. This is absurd, and it is a form of condescension which borders on racism itself. They know what is best for us, we should stay in our place.

It is undeniable that this is a racist society, and that we are all affected by racism—white and non-white. But white people especially must struggle with both political and personal confrontations with racism. White workers are brought up to believe in white supremacy, and Black workers to believe in their own inherent inferiority. A true anti-racist movement would be capable of liberating us all, and changing the nature of US society, not just opposing the nazi/Klan vanguard movement.★



Nazis encounter bad driving conditions en route to New Hope

# New Hope

(Continued from page 7)

in confronting the Nazis were stopped by police road blocks at the bottom section of

back up to the road where we stayed for most of the rest of the demo.

## ON THE ROAD AGAIN

Most of the rest of the confrontations were with the line of cops on the road to

to its already-bad reputation.

Although the RWL helped communicate information with other groups and, to their credit, arrived at the site before other people and therefore had more information to contribute, unfortunately, the character of almost all of their activity was to tell

# Columbus

(Continued from page 7)

hidden) as being deciding factors in avoiding attacks on the Klan and police by anti-racists. Even so, demonstrators came painfully close to tearing down the fence during the speeches by the fascists and were promptly tear-gassed by the lines of cops protecting the fence. When this didn't work, people began to tear branches off of the trees and try to clock the pigs (both white and blue).

Not surprisingly, people who are directly in sight of the Klan, with its history of racist brutality, who had no outlet to vent righteous anger need to express this outrage. Many African youth did that by getting together outside the fences and metal detectors and dialoguing with the crowds of people hanging around. This was the most important part of the entire event. White kids had to listen to some righteous and right-on criticisms about white-skin privilege and middle-class control of the anti-racist movement delivered by mostly working-class African youth. One middle-aged African woman turned around and walked out into the street facing the lines of riot cops, many of whom were white women and Black men, and talked about the real racist threat facing Black youth in 1993: the cops.

After about two hours of white kids standing with Black kids against racism and the white Columbus power structure, the energy began to dissipate and the police broke up the remaining crowds. Even though the cops showed restraint in using the traditional head-cracking tactics during the whole event, it was clear that we were the ones in control that evening. For the crowds of white kids, this was an education they couldn't have gotten anywhere else. And for the African youth, this was a time to organize and make political connections, and also to pose a threat to the system that beats down so many people of color. Maybe next time we can rip down those fences, both physical and in white people's heads, and finally beat down racism once and for all.★

spoke to the overall militancy of the crowd.

## WRAP-UP

The Nazis left, more or less safely under heavy police protection, heading south away from the larger number of counter-demon-



Photo by John Penley

Nazis encounter bad driving conditions en route to New Hope

# New Hope

(Continued from page 7)

in confronting the Nazis were stopped by police road blocks at the bottom section of the park. About 300 or so people attended the "Stop the Hate" rally.

Most of the action occurred at the northern section of the park where the Nazis and counter-demonstrators converged, poised for a confrontation. About 400 riot cops, including a contingent on horses, were determined to allow little or no contact between the anti-fascists and the Nazis, and the geography of the site was in their favor.

## ROCKS ACROSS THE RIVER

When the first bus from New York arrived at the northern park, we quickly realized that there were very few anarchists there—most of them were on the two "lost" (to our knowledge) Philly buses and on the other NYC bus. The National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC—a front group of the Revolutionary Workers' League) "leadership" was controlling the crowd, leading chants while developing no plan of action. Cops were lined up along the park entrance in front of us, and they seemed willing to tolerate us. They had effectively cut off the anti-fascists from the Nazis (barring a cold swim in a canal into the waiting arms of more riot cops). The New York anarchists decided

back up to the road where we stayed for most of the rest of the demo.

## ON THE ROAD AGAIN

Most of the rest of the confrontations were with the line of cops on the road to the bridge separating us and the Nazis. As the crowd returned from the confrontations at the bank of the canal, a group of people who had walked from town, including anarchists and others from New York and Philadelphia, arrived at the scene. Those who missed the first spate of confrontations because they had been blocked by the cops were treated to a barrage of lectures, sectarian rhetoric, and authoritarian communist propaganda, totally inappropriate and unrelated to the situation. The anarchists and most of the unaffiliated crowd became immediately frustrated with the rhetoric which was preventing any tactical discussion of our current situation. Anarchists gathered away from the NWROC bull horn to discuss tactics.

A hasty decision was made to link arms and face-off against the cops who were standing across the road that led to a bridge across the canal. The idea was to show the people there how to link arms and to organize ourselves and other members of the crowd more thoroughly so that we could create and react to possibilities the cops might leave open. The face-off, quickly aborted as cops on horseback pushed us back, was premature but it did succeed in demonstrating that sort of physical unity to

its already-bad reputation.

Although the RWL helped communicate information with other groups and, to their credit, arrived at the site before other people and therefore had more information to contribute, unfortunately, the character of almost all of their activity was to tell everyone what to do.

One of the most frustrating incidents involved NWROC spouting rhetoric from the fence on the side of the road while most other people were confronting the cops. In the end the crowd got fed up with them and chanted "Act, not Talk" loudly enough to drown out the rhetorician on the bull horn.

## THREE SPOTTERS SPOTTED

Three white supremacist spotters were observed early in the day and ultimately confronted by a section of the crowd made up of roughly ten NWROCers and ten other people. With the exception of one Black NWROCer, the NWROCers preferred militant posturing to actual fighting. The white supremacists were kicked and punched and eventually chased off. The Mayday Skins were instrumental in making this happen. What was interesting, though, was that most of the crowd had noticed these three men earlier and no one or group of people had the will or the skills to confront them. All three were quite big men and this certainly had something to do with it, but it also

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## WRAP-UP

The Nazis left, more or less safely under heavy police protection, heading south away from the larger number of counter-demonstrators. The cops dispersed, and we all went home. The event was certainly a statement about the increased ability of anarchists to organize for such events. In both New York and Philadelphia, anarchists experienced being the main, or only, set of people organizing for Nov 6. This counter-demonstration presented organizational difficulties (the park divided into two parts, the road blocks, the canal) which were major obstacles. Political differences, a lack of agreed-on tactics, and a lack of militancy made the action much less effective. A number of mistakes were made in organizing this action. The most significant was our failure to build a participatory coalition far enough in advance of the action to work out some of the differences in tactics and political perspectives so that we could go in with an effective overall plan of action. But on the whole it was a strong showing for our first effort to build a regional anti-fascist action in the Northeast.

For more info about working with Love and Rage on anti-racist or anti-fascist work contact:

Love and Rage Anti-Racist Working Group  
PO Box 24703  
Detroit, MI 48224

anti-Salinaists at home but in the interna-

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Soon after that, the Nazis down at the canal started to chant and became visible to us through the woods. The NWROC plan for "confronting" them was to stay almost out of visible distance, and chant loudly to drown out the Nazis at the river. This would, according to them, diminish the Nazis' effectiveness. The general feeling of the anti-authoritarians was that this chanting idea was silly, and finally everyone, including NWROC, went down to the river.

People started throwing rocks at the Nazis, scoring several direct hits which caused them to retreat from the edge of the canal and back up the banks to the cops. About five Klansmen arrived, white hoods and all, and were interviewed by the press. We found out later that the Klansmen called the USANP cowards for not confronting us directly. The crowd then went

were with the line of cops on the road to the bridge separating us and the Nazis. As the crowd returned from the confrontations at the bank of the canal, a group of people who had walked from town, including anarchists and others from New York and Philadelphia, arrived at the scene. Those who missed the first spate of confrontations because they had been blocked by the cops were treated to a barrage of lectures, sectarian rhetoric, and authoritarian communist propaganda, totally inappropriate and unrelated to the situation. The anarchists and most of the unaffiliated crowd became immediately frustrated with the rhetoric which was preventing any tactical discussion of our current situation. Anarchists gathered away from the NWROC bull horn to discuss tactics.

A hasty decision was made to link arms and face-off against the cops who were standing across the road that led to a bridge across the canal. The idea was to show the people there how to link arms and to organize ourselves and other members of the crowd more thoroughly so that we could create and react to possibilities the cops might leave open. The face-off, quickly aborted as cops on horseback pushed us back, was premature but it did succeed in demonstrating that sort of physical unity to the crowd and raised the overall level of militancy. After this confrontation the crowd consistently linked arms whenever a confrontation with the cops seemed likely.

## THE TROUBLE WITH NWROC

One of the greatest difficulties of the day was organizing and communicating between groups with very different organizational styles, backgrounds, politics, and commitments to action. Love and Rage, Philadelphia Troublemakers and Anarchists, and a large number of individual anarchists, when taken as a single group formed the largest contingent at the bridge, followed by the ISO, NWROC, each with 25 or so people, and a host of much smaller contingents of several other Trotskyist groups. Many of the participants, including the ISO, were principled in their commitment to acting in coordination with others, and uninterested in spending time and effort in-fighting. But during the confrontation, the RWL lived up

to almost all of their activity was to tell everyone what to do.

One of the most frustrating incidents involved NWROC spouting rhetoric from the fence on the side of the road while most other people were confronting the cops. In the end the crowd got fed up with them and chanted "Act, not Talk" loudly enough to drown out the rhetorician on the bull horn.

## THREE SPOTTERS SPOTTED

Three white supremacist spotters were observed early in the day and ultimately confronted by a section of the crowd made up of roughly ten NWROCers and ten other people. With the exception of one Black NWROCer, the NWROCers preferred militant posturing to actual fighting. The white supremacists were kicked and punched and eventually chased off. The Mayday Skins were instrumental in making this happen. What was interesting, though, was that most of the crowd had noticed these three men earlier and no one or group of people had the will or the skills to confront them. All three were quite big men and this certainly had something to do with it, but it also

had the longer term effect of discrediting NWROC and the other counter-demonstrators. The cops dispersed, and we all went home. The event was certainly a statement about the increased ability of anarchists to organize for such events. In both New York and Philadelphia, anarchists experienced being the main, or only, set of people organizing for Nov 6. This counter-demonstration presented organizational difficulties (the park divided into two parts, the road blocks, the canal) which were major obstacles. Political differences, a lack of agreed-on tactics, and a lack of militancy made the action much less effective. A number of mistakes were made in organizing this action. The most significant was our failure to build a participatory coalition far enough in advance of the action to work out some of the differences in tactics and political perspectives so that we could go in with an effective overall plan of action. But on the whole it was a strong showing for our first effort to build a regional anti-fascist action in the Northeast.

For more info about working with Love and Rage on anti-racist or anti-fascist work contact:

Love and Rage Anti-Racist Working Group  
PO Box 24703  
Detroit, MI 48224

anti-Salinaists at home but in the international context they are peas in a pod with President Salinas? Could that be the reason that they did not comment when Castro supported Salinas's assumption of power despite clear voter fraud?

At the very least, for the moment, we managed to consense with these authoritarian fossils on the anti-imperialist character of the march, the list of demands, and the multi-sectoral character of the struggle: the construction of a new society of worker, popular and campesino unity. It is for that that we say "for the moment," because we know that their conception of a "new society" is nothing new, and that they will be quiet until the moment that they make a play for power, trying to convert themselves into the new exploiting class, parasitic and authoritarian, that rules all of our lives. For that reason it seemed strange to us to work with these groups, in particular one group of students from the interior of the country who said "Opportunists to one side; Ahead Marxist-Leninists!" (?)★

# Anti-Imperialist March

(Continued from page 2)

when they demonstrate against NAFTA. Haven't they read Marx? We did not understand the presence of the fanatics of the Caribbean Ayatollah signing on to an anti-NAFTA list; apparently the *Castrosauruses* no longer receive their budget from Havana, and therefore they ignore the opinion of the official organ of the the Partido Comunista Cubana (Cuban Communist Party), which first celebrated the economic policy of the Mexican State and then went so far as to rave about México being a "pioneer" in free-market politics. The PCC assures us that the Yankee legislature will soon approve the implementation of NAFTA. But, in the end, what can we hope for from these hypocritical forces that are

# LETTERS

## AWOL GOES AWOL

Dear *Love and Rage*,

AWOL, the anarchist political collective based in Minneapolis, has broken up. Although it'd be far more interesting to the reader if this were due to some irrecon-

tive has moved, or is in the process of moving, to New York City. For three years AWOL organized in Minneapolis on issues ranging from opposing radioactive dumping on a nearby Native reservation to stopping Operation Rescue's attempt to close area

succeed and we will do what we can to help.

Many of us plan to stay involved in different ways in the new structure. In addition, we'll enjoy working with comrades in the Minneapolis and New York milieus and, of course, in the larg-



exists into a network which can more effectively fight for those inside, help them become, or remain active participants in the struggle, and organize to keep the state from harassing, brutalizing, and assassinating them for their beliefs/organizing efforts?

I'm not proposing that we become an "official" network as such, but merely that the level of communication between anarchist prisoner support groups is terrible and it's keeping us from being the best we can be. Our lack of interaction betrays those in the gulags, as well as those on the outside who are scared to take action in fear of being abandoned if they get nailed.

I have some ideas on how we can improve the Anarchist Black Cross (or whatever we care to call what exists) here in North Amerikkka. Mind you, these are just suggestions that I've come up with from my experiences, and they are by no means written in stone:

—We need to have a North Amerikkkan Anarchist Black Cross conference, where anti-authoritarians involved in prisoner support can meet up, network, and share info on current campaigns. Hopefully, a more solid network would grow out of such a conference.

—An individual/group should take responsibility to put together a North Amerikkkan Anarchist Black Cross info-bulletin (similar to the old Black Flag and the one currently published by London ABC). It could be quarterly, monthly, bi-monthly, or whatever, but one should exist to update people on prisoners' cases, current campaigns, contacts, etc.

—We need a continental anarchist "bust fund" to support those who are imprisoned for political crimes (at demonstrations, riots, armed actions, etc.) When Brian Coan was arrested and put before a grand jury, he had to sell his own possessions to post bail! That's



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AWOL, the anarchist political collective based in Minneapolis, has broken up. Although it'd be far more interesting to the reader if this were due to some irreconcilable political differences or bizarre personality clashes, the fact is that over half of the collec-

tive has moved, or is in the process of moving, to New York City. For three years AWOL organized in Minneapolis on issues ranging from opposing radioactive dumping on a nearby Native reservation to stopping Operation Rescue's attempt to close area abortion clinics. We don't feel as bad about breaking up because the anarchist "scene" here has really developed in many positive ways over the last three years, with new projects, collectives and greater participation.

AWOL was a local of the Youth Greens (also now defunct), doing much of the work to hold that organization together in its last year or two. We also worked with the Greens and the Left Green Network (remember them?), when they weren't completely dominated by an electoral reformist orientation. And of course, we joined the Love and Rage Network as a supporting group early on. Through all this, we tried to put forward a distinct position emphasizing a combination of study, direct action, creating and sustaining counter-institutions, and coming to terms with forms of domination in addition to those connected to "relations of production" (class), i.e. identity

succeed and we will do what we can to help.

Many of us plan to stay involved in different ways in the new structure. In addition, we'll enjoy working with comrades in the Minneapolis and New York milieus and, of course, in the larger public sphere. Already two former members have joined the Love and Rage production group in New York. Former AWOL members in Minneapolis continue to work on a variety of projects in different groups including TCAF (Twin Cities Anarchist Federation). We look forward to working with you all in a multiplicity of ways, either as individuals, in new collective formations, or somewhere in-between.

See you in the streets,  
AWOL,  
Minneapolis

## PRISON SUPPORT IN NYC

An open letter to anarchists and anti-authoritarians involved in prisoner support.  
Hello Comrades!

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—Lorenzo Ervin's excellent Draft Proposal For An Anarchist Black Cross & Manifesto should be copied and read by EVERYONE in the anarchist movement and could play the role of a blueprint for the network I think we need to initiate. (For a copy, send \$1 to NY-AYF).

—Groups, papers, etc. need to be more responsible about actually answering mail from prisoners and sending them propaganda and other reading materials.

—We need to compile a detailed list of anarchists/anti-authoritarians imprisoned in North Amerikkka (something along the lines of Can't Jail the Spirit, but for @'s).

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citable political differences or bizarre personality clashes, the fact is that over half of the collec-

## Corrections

**I**N THE LAST ISSUE THE continuation of the Palestine article on the front page was inconsistent with the beginning of the article. The paragraph which was continued should have read, in full, as follows:

*Zionism is sold by its adherents as the only possible solution to the "eternal" problem of Anti-Semitism. The collapse of feudalism in Eastern Europe in the late 19th century brought a flood of Jews westward. Foreigners in the West and hated middlemen in the East whose historic role had been usurped by the rise of national bourgeoisies, the Jews became targets of racist movements which blamed the horrors of nascent capitalism on this conveniently vulnerable minority. Thus the "socialism of fools" presented a threat to the widespread desire of European Jews to assimilate into the surrounding population. By the end of the 19th century, some Jewish intellectuals had concluded that assimilation was impossible. These early Zionists concluded that Jews could only "normalize" their social existence by building their own completely Jewish nation, occupying all levels and social classes in society. To accomplish this goal the Zionists went in search of "a land without people for a people without land." They found Palestine, a choice that presented them with several key advantages. In addition to the propaganda value of Jerusalem as a Jewish holy site, the Jewish settlers could count on the British mandate authorities in Palestine to provide an umbrella for their activities."*

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AWOL was a local of the Youth Greens (also now defunct), doing much of the work to hold that organization together in its last year or two. We also worked with the Greens and the Left Green Network (remember them?), when they weren't completely dominated by an electoral reformist orientation. And of course, we joined the Love and Rage Network as a supporting group early on. Through all this, we tried to put forward a distinct position emphasizing a combination of study, direct action, creating and sustaining counter-institutions, and coming to terms with forms of domination in addition to those connected to "relations of production" (class), i.e. identity politics and the so-called new social movements. We continue this work through activism and the anarchist journal Free Society, which many former AWOL members work on (available from PO Box 7293, Mpls., MN 55407).

The Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation is succeeding at a task similar to the one we set out for ourselves when we worked with the Youth Greens and later tried to create some sort of eco-anarchist network. The new Federation shares many political and structural principles of what AWOL always argued for, namely: an explicit, democratically developed set of common politics; a confederal, delegated structure that retains power at the bottom; an emphasis on developing strong local groups; direct action; and a commitment to confronting unequal relations of power in and out of the organization, i.e. sexism, hetero-sexism, etc. We hope the Federation continues to grow and

er public sphere. Already two former members have joined the Love and Rage production group in New York. Former AWOL members in Minneapolis continue to work on a variety of projects in different groups including TCAF (Twin Cities Anarchist Federation).

We look forward to working with you all in a multiplicity of ways, either as individuals, in new collective formations, or somewhere in-between.

See you in the streets,  
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and anti-authoritarians  
involved in prisoner support.**

Hello Comrades!

I'm writing to you because of your work on behalf of prisoners, political prisoners/POWs, and others incarcerated in Amerikkka's gulags. I'm interested in communicating and networking with you/your group because I feel our work has the same goal in common and perhaps we can work together.

Through my activities with the Anarchist Youth Federation, the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, Workers Solidarity Alliance, the Industrial Workers of the World, and as an anti-racist activist, I've come into contact with a lot of prisoners. Many of them share our views that a revolutionary anarchist, anti-racist movement must be built here in North Amerikkka, and they want to be involved. Unfortunately, there is currently no effective network or apparatus to support such people (politically, financially, and otherwise). What exists is a fragmented network of anti-authoritarian individuals and collectives involved in prisoner support work. In my mind, the main question before us is: How can we transform what currently

despicable, and we should have some way to bail out those in the pen and help pay their legal costs. (How we'd decide who qualified as "political" would have to be worked out by whatever individuals/groups set the fund up).

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—We need to compile a detailed list of anarchists/anti-authoritarians imprisoned in North Amerikkka (something along the lines of Can't Jail the Spirit, but for @'s).

—Groups should take responsibility for publishing the works of anarchist prisoners and making sure they get out to the larger community (such as what was done with Larry Giddings' "Why Anti-Authoritarian?" pamphlet or any of the material written by Lorenzo Ervin while he was in jail). This would keep prisoners' voices and opinions active in the movement.

—Finally, we need to create a rapid-response network that can organize pickets, demonstrations, phone zaps, letter-writing campaigns, etc. on behalf of prisoners. This is especially needed when the state tries to intimidate prisoners by moving them around, putting them in solitary confinement, etc.

Again, these are just some ideas. I'd be interested in hearing other people's views on how we can build a continental anarchist prisoners' support network.

**Activities I'm Currently**



#### involved in:

With this letter, I would like to identify myself as an ABC contact for the Brooklyn, NY area. At the moment I'm working alone on prisoner support, but I'm hoping to eventually get some kind of collective started. The other groups I'm involved with (L&R RAF, WSA, AYF, IWW) all do prisoner support, so I work with other people around prisoners' issues.

My main focus at the moment has been supporting Irish-American, anarchist, anti-imperialist prisoner Harold H. Thompson, who is incarcerated in Tennessee. We write each other regularly and I send him money, tapes, stamps, and reading materials. Harold is a jailhouse lawyer,

(anyone not listed, please write). Also, there is a list of non-anarchist prisoner support groups, which I'm planning to do the same with.

I hope this will be the first of many letters to the anarchist community from @'s involved in prisoner support, and I ask that all those interested in Harold's case, building the ABC, networking, etc., please get in touch.

In Revolutionary Solidarity,  
Dan Sabater  
Brooklyn ABC contact  
Brooklyn ABC/Harold Thompson  
Support Campaign  
c/o NY-AYF  
PO Box 365  
Canal Street Station  
New York, NY 10013-0365 USA

continuing research on the local ruling class, who they are, what they own, and where they live, and we will continue to work in a coalition to get the US out of Somalia. Many of us in the group work on other projects outside of the group, such as Food Not Bombs, syndicalist labor organizing, rent strike/tenant organizing, queer liberation issues, and other things. While these activities may generally be done outside of the context of Class War-Santa Cruz, they are part of our activity since everyone in the group brings their other activities into the group with them. We are currently working on better defining what membership in our local group means and com-

anarchist publication that creates a safe space for me, even if it's been only in print. I'm curious; do you have any transgendered supporters in the NY area? It doesn't matter whether they're drag kings in Queens, MTF or FTM transsexuals, or transvestites. I'd very much like to correspond, or, more importantly, connect in a more direct way. If so, please give them my address and/or phone number (with discretion, please) so we can make contact. Also, if you have any transgendered policy thoughts, feelings, please let me know. Any member/s can write.

Love, Peace, Anarchy.

4,000 people. That seems about right to us, but it doesn't count the hundreds of people who came but did not enter through the metal detectors and police gauntlet into the "designated protest area."

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Besides this, I'm currently corresponding with prisoners through AYF. We're compiling a Youth Prisoners' List for kids under 21 in the pen, and we send literature, contact lists, etc. to anyone who writes. I also correspond with anti-fascist prisoners in jail for attacking nazis, etc.

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It is with great pleasure that I announce to the rest of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation that Class War-Santa Cruz, during its meeting of Oct. 27, decided to federate with the L&R-RAF. Our group is less than a month old, but has already had an impact in the community. We made an initial splash by showing up with a loud and vocal presence at an otherwise liberal AIDS Walk. We handed out an informational flyer on classism within the queer community and AIDS profiteering. The next week we co-sponsored a demonstration against the US/UN recolonization of Somalia. As it stands now we are

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Yours for Anarchy,  
Matt Miscreant, member of  
Class War-Santa Cruz  
PO Box 7007  
Santa Cruz, CA 95061  
(408)458-2931.  
vittu@ucscb.ucsc.edu

## TRANSGENDER SUPPORTER

Dear Love and Rage,

I have read your newspaper off and on for some time with interest. One of the things that has struck me in particular is your emphasis on issues of queer identity. Being a 25-year-old transgendered woman struggling to get out of the closet, I've been heartened and empowered by an

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Love, Peace, Anarchy,  
Carolyn Riccardi

[We will forward all letters to Carolyn. —PG]

## ANTI-RACIST THANKS

Dear Friends:

Thanks from Columbus Anti-Racist Action, to everyone who came to the anti-Klan rally last Saturday and to everyone else who helped support it.

The rally was a big success. In spite of so-called community "leaders" telling people not to go, in spite of massive scare-tactics about "potential violence" put out by city officials, in spite of way too many cops (500?), metal detectors, pat-down searches—nothing stopped us.

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As you may know, the Klan says they are coming back to Columbus on Martin Luther King's birthday, Jan 15, or a couple days before. If they do, we'll be there.

One of our readers wrote in with a valid criticism. Our last mailing included several references to murders as "skinheads." Not all skinheads are racist. In fact, many A.R.A. members are skinheads. Sorry to have accidentally fed the unfair stereotype that all skinheads are nazis.

Our mailing list is now about 500 strong and growing. If you know of others who would like to receive our mailings, or if you want to be put on our list of active volunteers, please send in names and addresses. Send info. Send clippings. Send money. Stop Racism.

A.R.A. Columbus  
PO Box 02097  
Columbus, OH 43202

Subscribe to and Distribute  
Love and Rage

Name \_\_\_\_\_

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## GOVERNMENTS DON'T FALL BY THEMSELVES. THEY NEED YOUR HELP. JOIN THE FEDERATION.

### FEDERATION COUNCIL MEETING IN NEW YORK JAN 14-17

Yo! The Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation Council will meet in New York City over the Martin Luther King, Jr. weekend, Friday Jan 14 through Monday Jan 17. Most of the decision-making meetings will be held all day on Saturday and Sunday, but if you don't get here on Friday you'll miss chillin' with the other spiffy folks. Some food will be provided but bring money to help pay for it. Let us know about special needs like childcare, translations, disabilities, etc.

Everyone is welcome to participate in discussions, but decisions at the meetings will be made by delegates to the council. There are delegates from every project and two from every supporting group. Many groups have not yet decided on their delegates. Supporting groups should let us know names and phone numbers of their delegates as soon as possible.

The agenda for the meeting has not been set. A proposal should be ready ahead of time. If you have suggestions or demands, questions or comments, please mail, fax, call, email them to the NY newspaper office NOW!

PO Box 853 Stuyvesant Station New York, NY 10009  
(212) 460-8390 email: loveandrage@igc.apc.org

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